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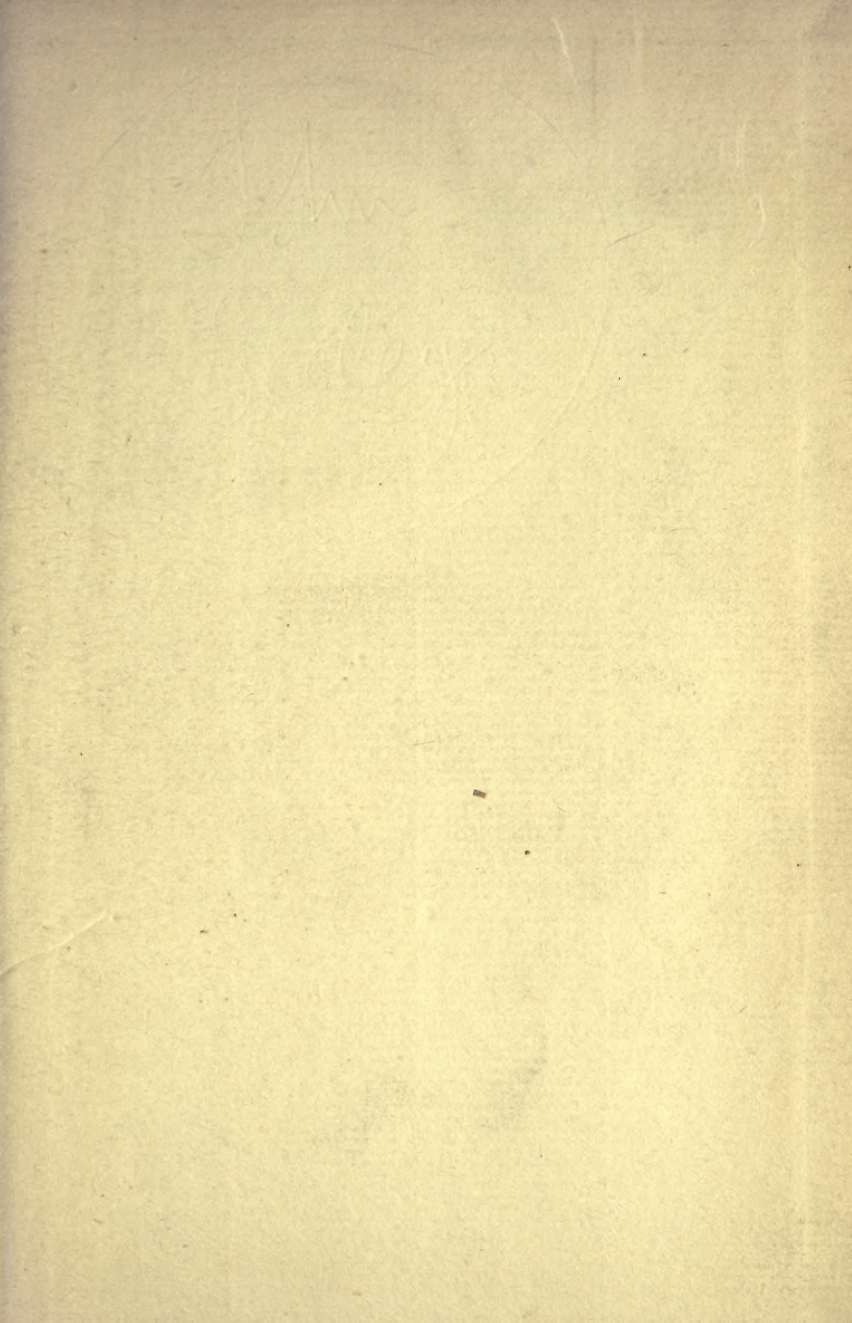


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A HISTORY
OF
RITUALISM

LONDON:
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THE SPRINT CO.
4, CECILIA STREET
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.

Y. HIST. J. 1811

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A
HISTORY
OF
RITUALISM

BY

VOX CLAMANTIS

LONDON
THE OPEN ROAD
PUBLISHING CO.

11 CURSITOR STREET
CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

1907

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PREFACE

THE present writer does not pretend to be impartial. He writes of the Ritualistic Movement from the standpoint of a Protestant member of the Church of England. But the fact that one holds pronounced views on one side or the other need not interfere with the accuracy of one's facts — if so, neither Macaulay nor Froude could be called a historian. And so the author trusts that, though he has taken a distinct side in this controversy, it has not led him to distort any facts that he may have related.

V. C.

NEWCASTLE, *Nov.* 1906.

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NEWARK, N. J. 1904

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A HISTORY OF RITUALISM

INTRODUCTION

I

THE origin of the establishment of Christianity in Great Britain is uncertain.

There was a British Church in the islands in very early times. Some say it was a mission sent by Pope Eleutherius at the request of a British King ; some make it out to have been entirely independent. It is, at all events, certain that by the sixth century it had become weak and uninfluential ; it was confined to the ancient inhabitants, and had no influence on the Saxons, who had now conquered the land ; it was approaching the point of extinction. St Augustine came to Kent on his mission from Rome, and in a very few years the ancient British Church had become absorbed in the Roman Mission.

For ten centuries there was no Church in this country but the Roman Catholic Church—except among the few Protestant Dissenters, Lollards, and such, who from time to time lifted their voices against the corruptions of the day. But the only recognised Church in England was the Roman

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Catholic Church. Certain local privileges were indeed claimed by the Sovereigns of England, but every member of the Church was in communion with the Pope and acknowledged the Pope as his chief pastor. The fact is one so patent that it lies outside the region of argument or disproof. If an Englishman had repudiated the Pope, and declared that he held no communion with him, he would have been put to death as a heretic. Until the sixteenth century England was a Roman Catholic country.

II

The main object of the Reformers in this country—the founders of the Church of England in its present shape—was to get rid of the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Communion.

In the early Christian Church the Holy Communion was a simple meal in memory of Christ, celebrated in people's houses, probably, as a rule, by the father of the family, for, of course, there was no idea of priests or sacrifices in early days. As the Church grew and developed, and pagans came into it, bringing with them their pagan ways of thought, the idea of material substances like water, bread, and wine, conferring grace to the soul, gradually grew up, until in the Middle Ages it was actually believed that the bread and wine in the Holy Communion were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. The chief service of the day became the Communion; it was regarded as a sacrifice and called the Mass, a word which may be derived from the Hebrew for "offering," or from the priest's concluding words in the Roman Catholic service, "*Ite missa est.*" The priest wore gaudy vestments to do honour to the

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imaginary Presence, incense was burned, candles lighted, and minister and congregation worshipped the consecrated cake. The Reformers in England regarded such worship as superstition and idolatry, and founded our Church to get rid of it and drive it out.

Henry the Eighth, indeed, who started the reforming movement in England, did not desire to make a total breach with the past and establish a new Church. He merely wanted to establish his own supremacy. He fancied that he could get rid of the Pope without getting rid of the Pope's doctrines. But, like many other reformers, he could not see the logical tendency of his own acts: he set in motion the spirit of the age, and vainly hoped that it would obey his bidding: but in the very act of starting it he had put it beyond his own control. During his lifetime Catholics and Protestants who disagreed with his theories were impartially burned: but with his lifetime the fabric he had tried to erect passed into nothingness. The idea of a National, yet Catholic, Church was buried in Henry's grave. His overmastering personality had obscured the issue: from the time of his death the real meaning of the Reformation in England could not be disguised: it was the destruction of Mediævalism, of the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Under Edward the Sixth a thoroughly Protestant Prayer-book was issued: the Mass was got rid of, with all its attendant ceremonies. His untimely death put power into the hands of Mary, a bigoted Catholic, and the two religions now stood definitely and clearly opposed to each other. The religion which had held sway in England for a thousand

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years stood face to face with primitive Christianity, as embodied in the new Church of England. The idea of a connection between them; the idea invented of late years of unbroken "continuity"—that the Protestant Church was a mere continuation of the Roman Catholic Church, which persecuted it with fire and sword—is the wild delusion of a dream. The theory that the Reformation in England only intended to get rid of the Pope's usurped authority and a few abuses is a theory which the most elementary knowledge of the period shows to be utterly untenable. Its object was to get rid of Catholic doctrine—and it succeeded.

The controversy between the old Church and the new turned, as we have said, on the Real Presence. The proofs and instances of this are so numerous that it would be tedious to mention more than one or two.

When Mary came to the throne, a disputation was held between the Catholic divines and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. It took place in Lincoln College Chapel. What was the subject of the discussion? Not the Pope's authority, but the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Old Latimer declared "that he had read the New Testament over seven times, yet could not find the Mass in it." One of the Catholic divines asked him, "What say you to a sacrifice for the dead?" and he replied, "I say that it needeth not and that it availeth not." It certainly seems an odd perversion that those who *can* find the Mass in the New Testament, and do think a sacrifice for the dead necessary, should remain in the Church which Latimer died to found.

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The trial of such typical representatives of the Reformation as Ridley and Latimer must afford conclusive evidence of the points on which the Reformation turned: the charge against them must involve the kernel of the controversy. They were tried before three Roman Catholic Bishops, and the words of the charge are still extant in black and white. They are as follows:—

“We, John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, first, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some or more of them, hast affirmed and openly defended and maintained that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar.

“Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended that in the Sacrament of the Altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

“Item, that in the said year and months aforesaid thou hast openly affirmed and publicly maintained that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.”

But the most conspicuous martyr of the Reformation was Archbishop Cranmer, and so the point urged upon him must offer decisive evidence. When he had been tired out by long imprisonment, and weakened by the violent deaths of his friends, the authorities urged him to recant. What was the point pressed upon him? the authority of the Pope? Nothing of the kind. We have still extant the letter of the Papal Legate, Pole, in which he says to him:

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"Confess, confess that thou hast mocked God by denying that He is present in the Sacrament of the Altar."

The Church of England, then, was founded in the sixteenth century for the purpose of denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar.

III

On the accession of Elizabeth, the Protestant Church of England was finally set up in its present form. The Roman Catholic Church in this country was disestablished and disendowed by Act of Parliament, and its buildings and emoluments handed over to the new body established in its place.

This revolution was achieved by Acts of Parliament, which are known technically as 1 Eliz., c. 1, and 1 Eliz., c. 2. The first asserted the Royal Supremacy; the Queen was made head of the new Church, as the Pope had been of the old. It gave her such power that she could, by letters patent, give commission to any person she might select "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can, or may, lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, or amended." All bishops and clergymen had to take an oath acknowledging the Queen to be the only supreme governor both in spiritual and temporal things. Then the new Church was placed entirely under the civil power: it was made a purely State institution.

The new Church, of course, required a new service book. This was ordered by the other Act, the Act

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of Uniformity. A liturgy, almost similar to the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., was framed. On and after the 24th of June, 1559, the Mass ceased, and the English service took its place. This, with one or two insignificant alterations, is the Prayer-book we use at the present time.

As many of the clergy object to the jurisdiction of the State in spiritual matters now, we cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that these sweeping changes were entirely the work of the State, and were made in the teeth of the emphatic protests of the ancient Church. The Convocation of the clergy was not consulted: was passed by with absolute contempt. Both Houses of Convocation protested emphatically against the changes. The Lower House unanimously voted, and sent to the Upper House, resolutions expressing their belief in transubstantiation, the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, the authority of the Pope, and the right of the clergy alone to determine the affairs of the Church. All these points, of course, were entirely rejected by the Reformers; and the Church of England, as constituted by Elizabeth, was based on the rejection of them. "*Missa fuit*," as one writer triumphantly said: the Mass was over and done with.

All the Catholic Bishops, except Kitchin of Llandaff, whose career had from the first been that of a weathercock, refused to enter the communion of the new Church, and were deprived. Twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, and eighty rectors also refused to conform, and were turned out of their benefices. This was certainly a small proportion, but of course it was a serious thing to be cast penniless on the world, and so many pretended to submit to the new

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religion, but conformed only in outward appearance; their hearts were still with Rome.

Thus in England continuity with the past was finally and irrevocably broken. What was effected is best described succinctly in the words of a contemporary, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham. When the deprived clergy complained that all these changes had been made without their consent, he replied "that this was done but just as Queen Mary had done before, who by her Statute-book *took away one religion and brought in another.*"

IV

It will be necessary to throw a passing glance at the subject of the validity of Anglican Orders.

Of course, to the Low or Broad Churchman the question is of little importance. As he rejects the mechanical theory of religion, and does not believe that grace is conferred by the sacraments, it matters not to him whether his ministers have been validly ordained or not. But to the High Churchman the matter is vital. He believes that his spiritual life depends on grace being imparted to his soul through the elements of bread and wine, and that that grace can only come when those elements are consecrated by priests who trace their descent in a direct line from the apostles. It can have no place nor home in a Church where no such priests are to be found.

Now, at this distance of time, and with the conflicting evidence before us, it is impossible for us to arrive at a definite conclusion as to whether there is such an Apostolic Succession in the Church of England. But candour compels us to admit that

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at least there is the very gravest doubt as to whether we have valid Orders, in the Catholic sense, or not.

The High Anglicans rest their claim to valid Orders mainly on the statement in the Lambeth Register that Parker, the first Archbishop of the new Protestant Church, was consecrated by four bishops, Barlow, Hodgkyn, Scory, and Coverdale. But a little examination will show that the statement in the Register is unreliable. There is another, and certainly authentic, account of the proceedings to be found in the Foxe MSS., in the British Museum, and here we have the statement that Barlow was the consecrator, and the other bishops were assistants. This document is of a somewhat later date than the Lambeth Register. The inference seems to be that when, several years after the event, the Catholic party raised objections to the validity of the consecration, on the ground that Barlow himself was not a bishop at all, the Lambeth Register was recopied or altered so as to make it appear that Hodgkyn, Scory, and Coverdale also laid their hands on Parker.

There is this further, and it would seem conclusive, proof of Barlow alone having been the consecrator of Parker. In the mandate of Elizabeth the bishops were enjoined to follow the Ordinal of the Prayer-book of Edward VI., and in this Ordinal only one bishop is the consecrator. Are we to suppose that the bishops defied the orders of an imperious Queen and substituted some other rite for the one she enjoined? That seems to lie outside the region of possibility.

It may, then, almost be taken for granted that Barlow was the consecrator of Parker. Now, there

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is a serious probability that Barlow himself was never a bishop, and if so, he was, of course, incapable of conferring Episcopal orders.

Barlow was appointed Bishop of St Asaph on January 7th, 1536, and he departed on an embassy to Scotland in the same month. At that time he was certainly unconsecrated, for Strype, the Church historian, expressly tells us that he was *Bishop-elect*. While away in Scotland he was transferred to the richer See of St David's, and we have the certificate of his confirmation in Bow Church, London, on April 21st; but that document makes no mention of his consecration, as it would have done had he been consecrated. He certainly assumed the style and title of a bishop without consecration. Indeed, in the year 1536 there appears to have been only one consecration of bishops, viz. on June 11th; the register of that consecration is extant, and Barlow's name does not appear in it. Moreover, we have a document addressed to him next day by Cromwell, the Vicar-General, and in that document he is called "*Bishop-Elect*"; so it seems impossible to believe that he had been consecrated the day before.

Moreover, there is abundant evidence that Henry VIII. held that he had the power to make a bishop without the intervention of any ecclesiastics. We have recorded also a conversation between Henry VIII. and Barlow, given, indeed, somewhat differently by different writers, but the substance of which is that the apostles made bishops because they lacked a Christian prince to do it, and that the consecration of any priest or bishop is not necessary, but the mere appointing is sufficient. The evidence goes some way, then, to show that Henry tried this

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experiment in Barlow's case, and that therefore Anglican Orders, as coming from him, have not validity in the Catholic sense.

The point, as I have said, cannot now be proved ; there are arguments on both sides ; certainly the matter is involved in doubt and obscurity. At least one would think that the Ritualist, who holds Orders and Sacramental grace to be essential to his salvation, would seldom be free from an uneasy suspicion that the rites so dear to him may be but a solemn mockery, and the priest who gives him what he holds to be the bread of life only a layman arrayed in ecclesiastical dress. How a reasoning man can care to remain in so doubtful and dangerous a position it is hard for us to imagine. It must be a case of men believing what they want to believe, comforting themselves with pleasing fancies, and not daring to look severe realities in the face.

CHAPTER I

THE OLD HIGH CHURCH MOVEMENT

THERE was a brief period in the early history of the Church of England when there was a High Church reaction. It was not, indeed, like the Oxford Movement in many particulars: it would have regarded disobedience to the State on the part of the clergy as the grossest heresy and wickedest treason: it would have shuddered at the repudiation of the name Protestant as applied to the Established religion; but yet in some ways it was a type and a foreshadowing of what has come upon us in our days; and it is at least instructive for us to remember how High Churchmen used power when power fell into their hands.

The person who was chiefly responsible for this movement of the seventeenth century was Laud, first Bishop of London, and then Archbishop of Canterbury. His position was made possible by the pronounced and aggressive Calvinism of the Church in the later years of Elizabeth: he represented the forces of a natural reaction. Without pronouncing any opinion on the truth of its doctrines, we may assert that Calvinism is that form of orthodox religious thought which is least tolerant of and most

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opposed to sacramental theories and symbolic rites; and when the pendulum swung to the opposite side, Arminianism, it was not surprising that a loop-hole was made for the intrusion of Catholic doctrine as well. Laud began by opposition to the prevalent Calvinism; when he had secured first toleration and then pre-eminence for the doctrine of man's absolute free will in spiritual matters, he went further, and began to revive doctrines and practices which had been abandoned since the Reformation. He had the ear of Charles the First. The King was a sincere and devoted supporter of the Church and of the Episcopal form of Government, and looked on his adviser as one of the strongest barriers against the aggressive forces of Puritanism in religion and Liberalism in politics. Doubtless, himself a sound Protestant, he did not go all the lengths in his own mind that the Archbishop did; but he certainly gave Laud a free hand.

Laud began his introduction of semi-Roman practices into the Church of England in the same way as his successors have done, viz., by the "restoration" of churches. He issued a proclamation for the repair, generally the unnecessary repair, of churches and chapels, for which the parishioners were to be made to pay, whether they belonged to the Established religion or not. In the consecration of new or restored churches which he himself performed, he seems to have been rather at sea as to what the Catholic usage really was, and consequently, even from an æsthetic point of view, his proceedings were more ludicrous than impressive. We have preserved a contemporary account of his performance at the consecration of the Church of

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St Katharine Cree in Leadenhall Street, and it is highly amusing reading. He threw dust about in the air ; he frequently bowed towards the communion-table ; he approached the bread which he was about to consecrate for the communion, lifted up the napkin to look at it, then let it fall and flew back a few paces ; he bowed to the bread ; he touched the cup, flew back, and bowed thrice to *that* ; and after several repetitions of these proceedings, he administered the communion. We hear such things as these nowadays with amused equanimity ; but the Puritans of the seventeenth century were of sterner stuff than to endure unmoved such solemn trifling in the house of prayer ; and it helped to bring on Laud the storm which subsequently overwhelmed him.

Laud proceeded to enforce his views on others. Copes, credence-tables, vessels for mixing water with the wine were introduced into the cathedrals. Altars were ordered to be set up and railed in, and when the churchwardens resisted such order, they were imprisoned until they had submitted. Orders were issued as to what points clergymen might preach on. They were not allowed to use an extemporaneous prayer in the pulpit. No book could be published without the Archbishop's imprimatur. He even compelled the bodies of foreign Christians, non-Episcopalians, who had fled to this country to escape persecution, to conform to the liturgy of the Church of England under pain of excommunication. Such was the condition of religious freedom in England when the High Church party was in power.

But in individual instances a still more savage spirit of persecution was displayed. The case of

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Dr Leighton, some time professor of moral theology in the University of Edinburgh, is one that should not be forgotten. This divine wrote a book against prelacy, a book in which no doubt, as is the fashion of the theologian, many strong things were said. The bishops were denounced as men of blood, and the persecution described as one of the greatest known in history. To words Laud replied with blows. He had Dr Leighton brought before the Court of High Commission, when this sentence was passed upon him: that he should be imprisoned for life; that he should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that he should be degraded from the ministry, scourged, and set in the pillory; that he should have one of his ears cut off, have one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the forehead with the letters S.S., signifying sower of sedition. When this sentence was pronounced, the High Church prelate bared his head and thanked God.

The case of Prynne is also significant. Prynne was a young Puritan graduate of Oxford, who published a book against theatres; and whatever our theatres may be considered in the present day, they were then doubtless, as Prynne contended, the nurseries of dissoluteness and vice. Perhaps this would not have been regarded as so dire an offence, but Prynne went on to attack the proceedings in the churches which were so dear to the heart of Laud, the bowings, the vestments, the music. This made Laud resolve to hunt him down, and he had him brought before the Star Chamber, on the ground that, by his strictures on dancing, he had reflected on the King and Queen. He was condemned to be excluded from the bar and deprived of his degree,

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to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, and have an ear cut off at each place, and to be imprisoned for life.

Another instance is that of Henry Burton, who, in a London church, preached against the bishops as "blind watchmen, dumb dogs, ravening wolves," as no doubt they generally were. For this he was condemned to be fined five thousand pounds, to be pilloried, to have his ears cut off, to be branded on both cheeks, and to be imprisoned for life.

Thus England, and England's freedom of thought, passed through the fiery furnace and the waters of affliction during the days, happily brief, when the High Church party was in power. The spirit of the English nation was roused, however, and a terrible reaction prepared. As the martyrs went from the scenes of their torment to the distant prisons where they were to languish and rot, they were received in triumph by sympathising and reverential crowds. Men of all conditions turned out to see them and have their blessings, and to resolve, as they gazed on their wounds, that, so far as in them lay to achieve it, the rule of High Churchism should end, and never be set up in a free country again.

No one suggests, of course, that there is any possibility of a revival of such methods nowadays, to whatever strength the Reaction may attain. In these times we do not persecute with the stake, the burning iron, the knife, and the pillory: we employ other methods. The dogmatist seizes public money and subsidises with it sectarian schools: he puts his hands into the pocket of the Protestant and forces him to pay for Romanising teaching. And were he to gain fully the upper hand: to secure the ear of

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the Government of the day, as Laud did: to capture the rising generation by his voluntary schools, and obtain a majority at the polls: then it is conceivable that he, actuated, we may admit, by a false sense of duty, and imagining his theories to be necessary for the salvation of souls, might resort to still more drastic methods: exercise again a censorship of the press, prohibit unsectarian teaching, make the Schools a nursery for Anglo-Catholic teaching, and so on. It is a possible, if nothing more than a possible danger: we, at all events, should be prepared.

In the midst of this Laudian revival of ceremonial, and these tyrannical proceedings, it is instructive to notice that the High Churchmen of the seventeenth century did not, like their successors of the nineteenth, descend to false pretences. They did not affect to be what they were not. The modern Ritualist, remaining in a Protestant Church, repudiates the name of Protestant. It was not so with the Laudian, as even their opponents bear them witness. For example, we have a Puritan writer, Sir S. D'Ewes, saying: "For men to call themselves Protestants, like Bishop Laud, Bishop Wren, and their wicked adherents, and to project and plot the ruin of the Gospel, this my soul abhors as the highest step of wickedness and prevarication against God and His honour." Again, when pleading for his life before the House of Commons, we find the High Church Archbishop himself saying: "I will die with these words in my mouth, that I never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of this kingdom, in the bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant

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religion established by law in this kingdom." Laud, therefore, would have repudiated the modern Ritualists, who pretend to be his children, as impostors and shams. Between the old High Church movement and the new there is no affinity whatever. The modern High Churchman regards it as an aspersion on his fair fame to describe the Church of England as Protestant. The ancient High Churchman regarded it as one of her greatest glories that she is a Protestant Church.

The tension between the ecclesiastical innovators and the Puritans went on increasing, and was aggravated and intensified by political differences. The breach between the Parliament, with its Liberal tendencies in politics, and the Court, with its absolutist theories, was growing daily wider: and the Church threw her influence into the scale of the Court. Convocation went on, under Laud, making Canons about the communion-table being placed altar-wise in churches, the setting up of crosses and images, bowing to the altar, and so forth: the sturdy Parliament made it clear to their contemporaries and to their posterity for ever in England that Convocation is a body which may talk but may not act, and that the canon law is binding on the conscience of none but those who are so foolish as to care to obey it. On April 28th, 1640, the Commons had a conference with the Lords, and declared that "they would be bound by no canons that are or shall be made upon any commission granted to the Convocation without their consent in Parliament." The King dissolved the inconvenient House of Commons, and kept the Convocation sitting: but in a few months, another House of Commons had come back

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which was to sit till Monarchy, Episcopacy, and High Churchism were overthrown, and the Convocation had vanished away into nothingness: a house of cards, blown to the four winds by the breath of the people of England. The fact remains for all generations that any law made by Convocation is, unless sanctioned by Parliament, not worth the pages it is written on.

The tide had turned: the light of day was dawning for England, and the black shadows of priestcraft, which had haunted the night, were fast passing away. The past could not be undone, and the marks of High Church tyranny must remain for ever on the flesh of the martyrs: but Parliament did for them what alone lay in its power, and gave them monetary compensation out of the revenues of Laud and the ecclesiastical commissioners who had robbed them. Petitions came pouring in from all England against ecclesiastical tyranny, and many cases of individual suffering by Protestant clergymen were heard. At length it was resolved that the canons passed by Convocation were illegal, and that a committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of the Archbishop as chief author of them: and finally, on December 18th, it was determined to impeach him for high treason, and he was committed to custody. He declared that no man could in his heart believe him to be guilty of such a crime: but in truth he had committed high treason of the direst kind—treason against the prerogatives of the laity in Parliament, treason against the great liberties of his countrymen, treason against the free conscience of England, treason against the purity of the Church. And in those old days men who had the fear of God

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in their hearts exacted a heavy penalty for such high treason as that.

In these days, when the conscience of Protestants is roused, an appeal is made to a bishop who is in sympathy with the traitors in the Church ; and when the bishop puts us off with honeyed words, but declines to act, we sit down and possess our souls in patience. In those days, when the bishop refused to do his duty, they put him in prison, and then acted themselves. So when Laud was safely stowed away with no power of doing further mischief, and those who had acted with him were still and trembling lest a like fate should come upon themselves, the House of Commons sent down commissioners into the several counties to remove or demolish "all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and the monuments of and relics of idolatry." The commissioners went down, and the people aided them, and the new reformation took place. The idols fell, the rubbish was cleared out, and the churches became homely houses of prayer once more. A stern and sharp remedy : the times demand such a remedy when reform can be brought about no other way. There are always times in the history of Churches and nations when, if either is to be sound, brave men must act, and cease to talk.

Thus things went on swiftly. One most salutary reform was passed, a model and type of what we ought to be able to act on—the bishops were deprived of their power to vote in the House of Lords. Then, as the bishops had proved so unfaithful, episcopacy was abolished. Then came the trial of the chief traitor ; and by a righteous nemesis, the management

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of the charges against him was entrusted to Prynne, the man whose martyrdom he had procured, Prynne, earless, with the marks of his torment still upon him. Prynne it was who entered the cell of the tyrant to search for what treasonable papers might be there: and as he saw him come, the shuddering soul of Laud must have felt that his dead sins were rising out of the grave of the past, taking bodily shape, and hounding him to his doom. And his doom came soon: on Tower Hill his head was struck off by the executioner's hands.

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During the Commonwealth, the Church service was proscribed, and the Liturgy only performed in private: but such performance was generally winked at. The domination of the Presbyterian and Independent parties was not, however, popular with the nation: they interfered too much with the pleasures and pursuits of the people. The language of the average parishioner to his minister was, "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" So, with the Restoration of the Merry Monarch, the Puritan minister vanished, and the Church came back. The Puritans sought to make terms for themselves, but in the full tide of Reaction it was impossible. A Conference was held between the Puritan and Episcopalian parties, which did not result in any final decision, but brought out one or two important facts as to the real meaning to be attached to certain ambiguous phrases in the Prayer-book. The Bishops, for example, in their reply and justification of the Liturgy, pointed out that the word "priest" is merely retained to signify

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the distinction from deacon. Hence those who give it a sacrificial meaning go contrary to the opinion of the fathers of the Church and the High Churchmen of the seventeenth century.

During the reign of Charles the Second, the High Church school of Laud survived in a modified form. In the next reign, the fear of Romanism probably had much to do with its gradual diminution. But it never was, and it never had been, in any way a party resembling the Ritualistic school of the present day. It would have regarded the wearing of the Catholic vestment, the chasuble, as a mark of apostasy. It would have regarded the lifting up of or the bowing down to the consecrated elements as an act of idolatry. It was above all Protestant, and its dearest desire was to increase the power and influence of the Protestant Church. And so, when at the invitation of Churchmen, William of Orange landed to preserve the Church from the danger which threatened her at the hands of a Roman Catholic King, the motto he inscribed on his banner was the liberties of England and the Protestant religion.

After the excitement of the revolutionary settlement, ecclesiastical controversies gradually died down. A period of quiet, almost of lethargy, set in. The eighteenth century was remarkable in many ways: it was a century of brilliance and colour: a century of courtliness and wit: but it was not a century of religious enthusiasm. The religion of the day was moral: it was not a religion of spiritual might: men did not believe that they held communion with the Unseen. "Sir," said Bishop Butler, "the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a

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very horrid thing." The feeling was that it was indecorous, eccentric, out of due course; a thing to be avoided by the polite. A Church which caught the temper of the age might win respect, but could not inspire devotion; and so controversy practically ceased, and religious matters were in a state of quiescence from the accession of George I. to the beginning of the Evangelical Revival.

CHAPTER II

THE SLEEP AND THE AWAKENING

THE cant Ritualistic phrase which describes the Oxford Movement as "a great revival of spiritual life in the Church of England" is, apart from any controversy as to the nature of the Movement, one of those flagrant falsifications of history common to the Catholic party. They had nothing to do with reviving life in the Church of England. Other men laboured and they entered into their labours.

No doubt the eighteenth century was not a period of activity in the Church, was not an ideal period. It was a period that has much to attract and interest, but its characteristic was not enthusiasm. It had colour, strong deeds, courtesy, picturesqueness: the last was its great feature: picturesque were the gay dresses of the men of the time, picturesque the huge coaches that lumbered through London streets and country lanes, picturesque the great, carved, massive pews which made the interior of an eighteenth century church a thing of beauty. But it was not a time of moral or spiritual activity: its mental horizon was bounded: the hereafter was not realised, and there were few attempts to solve the mystery of existence.

The most valuable ecclesiastical event in the early

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part of the century was the suppression of Convocation. The Lower House of that body was tainted still with High Church intolerance, and regarded with extreme repugnance the attempts of the statesmen of the Revolution to extend to Dissenters a measure of toleration. The Bishops in the Upper House did what Bishops nearly always do: they swam with the stream. Under the Presbyterian William of Orange, the theory of Apostolic Succession of course was not in favour: and so the Bishops did not hold it. Under Anne, they magnified these offices, because the Queen did. When George came over from Hanover, the King's latitudinarian views at once found a spokesman in Hoadley, the Bishop of Bangor. In a very admirable sermon preached in the Royal Presence, he maintained, and no doubt sincerely maintained, the view that Christ did not establish an actual visible Church, and that tests of religious belief are unnecessary burdens. The mischievous clerical busybodies of the Lower House of Convocation at once protested. They were particularly offended at one sentence of the good Bishop's: "The favour of God follows sincerity, considered as such, and therefore equally follows every degree of sincerity." Sincerity was scarcely a virtue to commend itself at any time to Catholic-minded theologians who ate the bread of a Protestant Church. The High Church majority in Convocation protested: the ministers of the King acted with vigour and decision: Convocation was prorogued indefinitely on the 23rd of November, 1717, and not for a hundred and thirty-five years were the clerical geese allowed to cackle again.

Then the Church of England slept. It was a

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beautiful sleep, certainly, but it *was* a sleep: she was not awake to her mission and her moral responsibilities, and indifference and vice made havoc among the people.

It is not infrequently the case that in sleep a man reveals his real nature. The complection of his dreams shows where his real tendencies and longings lie. We may judge ourselves by our dreams: if they wander to scenes of dissipation and thoughts of wickedness, we may depend on it that we are not moral men: but if we dwell on high, then we may believe that we are spiritual men. And the man's disposition reveals itself in the broken utterances of sleep. And so in her eighteenth century slumber, the Church of England showed what she really is by an occasional movement and occasional trouble: showed how foreign to her real nature and origin are the Catholic practices and Catholic theories which from time to time a few of her sons have endeavoured to foist upon her.

One such instance occurred in Manchester in 1743. A Nonjuror named Deacon had established a small community in which many Catholic practices were re-introduced, and he had supporters outside his own congregation: among them, some of the clergy of the Collegiate church. They went so far as to establish weekly communion there. The Bishop of the diocese at once spoke the mind of the Church of England on this point. He declared weekly communion "a great and grievous innovation and a heavy charge to the parishioners—no matter for primitive practice or ancient Canons—they are all Popish." And so, no doubt, they are: Catholicity and Roman Catholicity have ever been

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synonymous. The Bishop had the weekly communion suppressed, and a monthly one took its place.

During this century, as a whole, those who desired Catholic practices left the Church of England. They did not as a rule join the Church of Rome, which had then but little influence: but they joined the Nonjuring body, which continued till the century was over. There they were able, without qualms of conscience or suspicion of disloyalty, to have the mixed chalice, to talk of antiquity, to pray for the dead. By this uttered or unuttered testimony they all bore witness to the fact that these things, and things like them, are foreign to the genius of the Protestant Establishment.

So the Church reposed during these restful years. An awakening was necessary, because it had forgotten the fact that man has a spiritual side as well as a moral one: that there are heights and depths in his nature whereby he touches the unseen: that as the hart pants after the water brook, so he longs for individual and personal communion with God. And it was not from the High Church side that the revival and awakening came.

The new life was breathed into the dry bones of the Church through the instrumentality of the people called Methodists. George Whitefield and John Wesley were the pioneers of the movement. The former, who came from the humblest ranks of society, and at Oxford occupied the ignominious position of servitor at Pembroke College, had perhaps the larger influence of the two in guiding the movement into the direction it took: for though Wesley was a stronger personality, probably he would never have adopted the system of open-air preaching, which

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he had at first much disliked, if it had not been for the initiative of Whitefield. Whitefield was ordained at the early age of twenty-one, and at once shook himself free of the confinement of buildings and walls, and preached to thousands in the fields and lanes the unsearchable riches of Christ. Wesley, with whom he had come in contact at Oxford, joined him later. He had been through his own spiritual experiences first. His religion had begun with formalism, as is the case with so many of the saints of God. At college, with a band of young men, he had prayed, fasted, visited the sick according to a regular rule or method which he drew up, and which had gained for him and his adherents the nickname of Methodists. His life was pure, holy, saintly: but he had not been touched by the mysterious living coal from off the altar on high. This, the experience which we call conversion, was yet to come to him, and kindled in him the fire with which he enkindled in turn thousands of other souls. It took place at a meeting of the Moravians in Aldergate Street in the May of 1738. A passage from Luther's works, describing the change of heart produced by faith, was being read. Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed." He felt that he trusted alone to Christ for salvation, and an assurance was vouchsafed to him that Christ had taken away his sins. He became a new man: a new and different life of enthusiasm, of Divine love was produced in him; the banner of formalism was cast down; old things had passed away, all things had become new.

This process of conversion has always taken place in those who have been called on to do a great Evangelical work, or a great work of revival. We

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may say that it is purely subjective, but that does not alter its value and its effect. For when we say that a thing is subjective, we mean, I suppose, that it is a spiritual event: and of all events, spiritual events are the most real—if, indeed, there be any other events at all. The world that we imagine surrounds us is a mirage and a delusion. The events which are enacted in the spirit are the true reality. So we do not minimise the truth and value of conversion if we call it a purely subjective process.

Wesley began his field preaching, in conjunction with Whitefield, in May, 1739: and from then it continued with marvellous vigour until his extreme old age. He was in journeys oft: he traversed the Kingdom from one end to another: and continued hard work seemed only to add to the strength of his wonderful manhood. The doctrines he preached were mainly two—the new birth and Christian perfection. By the new birth he meant the process which he had himself undergone: the man dying to worldliness, and being born to Christ: dying to indifference, and being born to religious zeal. It is impossible that during these years he can have continued to hold the figment of Baptismal Regeneration: for that mechanical theory is incompatible with spiritual religion: if a man believes that his hearers were made children of God at the font, he will have no need to urge on them the vital importance of being born again in later life. By Christian perfection, he did not mean absolute sinlessness—who that knows his own heart can believe that he is sinless?—he meant, as he tells us himself, loving God with the whole heart and loving our neighbours as ourselves,

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His Christian perfection was enthusiasm for God and enthusiasm for humanity.

Though this Movement was in a sense outside the Church of England, John Wesley remained a Churchman. He wanted to win the thousands whom his influence reached to Christ, and not to any particular form of Christianity. Why should he? He had before his eyes, almost daily, the spectacle of the Spirit of God working mightily beyond the limits of the denomination to which he himself belonged, and he could not therefore try to persuade men that inside that denomination greater safety was to be found. Of course some form of organisation was essential to keep together the converts he made, and they were formed into Societies which became the nucleus of what is now the Wesleyan Church. To assert that John Wesley was, to the last, a strong Churchman is absurd: and to exhort Wesleyans of to-day to return to the bosom of the Church of England, on the ground that such would be the wish of their founder is, of course, one more illustration of the mendacious methods of Ritualistic controversialists, whose disregard of truth is a necessary consequence of their belief in Catholic Moral Theology.

Of course an immediate consequence of Wesley's zeal for souls and unconventionality of method scandalised the clergy, and caused his exclusion from their pulpits. That has always been the case. The clergy of Jerusalem were scandalised by the preaching of Jesus Christ and the apostles, and did all they could to put a stop to it. The clergy of the sixteenth century were scandalised by the preaching of the Reformers. So now the re-awakening of religious life in England seemed a matter of small importance

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compared to the violation of Church order and the intrusion of the revivalists into parishes without the consent of the incumbents.

The clerical mind is, indeed, a strange quantity, and defies analysis. With the exception of a few earnest men, who rise superior to the prejudices of their class, it is a synonym for blindness, conventionality, and bigotry. On any question which should stir the national conscience: on any question of public morals: it is as a rule safe for the man who wants to go right to ascertain the predominant opinion of the clergy and the Episcopal bench, and then go in exactly the opposite direction. One reason of this is probably the very limited education that the majority of the clergy receive. A Pass degree at Oxford and Cambridge really implies no mental exercise, no acquaintance with the problem of the day: many clerics do not even receive that: and what possible germs of mental development there may have been are extinguished by the unwholesome and stifling atmosphere of the theological college. In his country parish, the clergyman generally stagnates: the respect paid to him by his parishioners has an unfavourable influence on his character and ministers to self-conceit: so that his outlook becomes narrower and narrower, and at length any action that is unusual or unconventional bewilders his sluggish brain and fills with horror his narrow soul.

The dislike, therefore, of the clergy of his day to Wesley and his methods was natural and inevitable: they could not help it. Not only were pulpits shut against him, but even in his family opposition made itself felt. Samuel Wesley warned his mother against countenancing John and "earnestly besought

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the Almighty to preserve her from joining a schism at the close of her life." In the year 1742, John visited Epworth, his native place. The curate in charge refused to allow him to take part in the services and preached against him: so Wesley took his father's tomb for his pulpit and converted many souls to God. The next year, he proposed to receive the Holy Communion there. "Pray tell Mr Wesley," said the curate in charge, "that I shall not give him the Sacrament, for he is not fit." He had an interview with Butler, Bishop of Bristol. Thus the clergy set themselves as a body to oppose the revival, but they might as well have set themselves to oppose the incoming of the Atlantic waves.

All over the land souls were awakened, brought to God, and rescued from sin. And now there was a movement in the same direction within the pale of the Church herself. Not many of the clergy, indeed, were affected by it: that, as we have seen, would have been impossible: but in the case of a select minority there was a revival of Evangelical religion. The movements were not identical: nay, in most cases the Evangelical clergy themselves were opposed to the methods of Wesley; but it cannot be doubted that they were influenced and stirred by him: there was a subtle change of atmosphere in the religious life of England, a spiritual interaction. So here and there, in various parts of the country, men arose who preached the new birth and justification by faith: and by their influence, the religious revival was further extended: and, as Wesley reached the masses, so they reached rather the middle and upper classes: God was honoured in the drawing-room as well as in the cottage: and there were now even to be

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seen those who, in the words of Cowper, "wore a coronet and prayed." The names of such men as John Newton, John Berridge, William Romaine, Henry Venn, will always be dear to Evangelicals of the English Church.

Newton's is one of the most striking and interesting cases, and a short account of so prominent a product and leader of the Revival will not be out of place here. He rose from the lowest depths of sin to the greatest heights of sanctity. He went to sea, and tells us that on board ship he lived a life of wickedness and profanity. He landed in Africa and resolved to make a fortune by dealing in slaves: but the man to whom he gave his services treated him as a slave himself, and he lived a life of horrible destitution and misery: he often fed on raw and unwholesome roots: he stole out at night to wash his one shirt upon the rocks, and if any stranger landed on that inhospitable shore, he hid himself for shame in the woods, that his deplorable appearance might not move their contempt or their mirth. In course of time, he managed to secure a passage home with the captain who had previously employed him: a storm in which he was nearly shipwrecked made a deep impression on his mind: feelings of early youth came back to him: he regretted his alienation from the God of his fathers, but he found that faith is the gift of God, and was not under his own control. He resolved to test Christ's promise to give the Spirit to them that ask, and meditation and prayer led him to a belief in the Gospel.

Newton's was a case in which light and joy came gradually. He tells us that, though repentant and pardoned, he had then but little sense of the innate

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evils of his heart, little realisation of the spiritual life of communion with God. These things came to him slowly : they were certainly not taught him by books, and still more certainly not aroused in him by mechanical means, ordinances of the Church : he was taught them in experience. At length he returned to England, and the desire came upon him to enter the Christian ministry. He was no bigot, so he was not very careful as to what communion he should minister in : he had a sense of humour, and that prevented him from imagining that the Almighty was the tribal God of a particular sect. It was the occurrence of various difficulties which prevented his taking Orders in the Independent Church ; after, his judgment showed him that the Church of England would afford him a wider sphere of usefulness. Being destitute of a University education (though, indeed, his own perseverance had made him by this time a good classical scholar), and being also of mature age, there was some difficulty in finding a bishop to ordain him. His Evangelical friends procured him an introduction to Lord Dartmouth, patron of the living of Olney, and Lord Dartmouth gave him an introduction to the Bishop of Lincoln. He waited on the Bishop, who began to raise some difficulties and proposed to ask some questions : but Newton handed him Lord Dartmouth's letter. This was enough. A bishop may think it a light matter to run the risk of offending the Holy Ghost : no bishop would run the risk of offending a peer of the realm. Newton was duly ordained in April 1764.

He was appointed to the curacy of Olney, the Vicar of which, Moses Brown, was non-resident. Olney will always be a place of note to Evangelicals,

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from its association both with Cowper and Newton. It is a placid Buckinghamshire town, with a great quiet market-place, in which stands the house where Cowper lived, almost unchanged from his time. In the last century, it was notoriously unhealthy and notoriously immoral: the two conditions are frequently found together. It was inhabited for the most part by a colony of rough lace-makers, who lived in practical heathenism: and an air of damp squalor was produced by the mists which rose thickly from the valley of the winding Ouse. Newton threw himself with zeal into his work among these people: his preaching stirred the hearts of many of them: soon the church was filled, in those days a most rare circumstance, and a new gallery had to be built. It was shortly after his settlement there that Cowper and Mrs Unwin came, those two tender and loving figures, tender and melancholy, the most attractive in our literary history: and soon a warm friendship sprang up among them. Newton became Cowper's spiritual guide: he induced him to write the beautiful Olney hymns: he bore with singular patience the madness of the afflicted poet: and when this madness took the form of a migration to the Vicarage, and a sojourn there of many months, no murmur escaped from Newton's lips.

In 1779 Newton accepted from Mr Thornton, the Evangelical banker, the living of St Mary Woolnoth in the City. At that period, the daily migration from the City to the suburbs had not begun: a man lived where his business was: and the wealthy bankers of Lombard Street formed his morning congregation—his morning congregation, for then as now it seems to have been the rule with wealthy and fashionable

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people to attend church only once a day. At the second service, people came from all parts of London to hear him, for he was a prophet and leader of the Evangelical Revival. Here he spent many years of usefulness, preaching till he died : in extreme old age, when one urged him to spare his failing strength, he declared that the old African blasphemer could not stop preaching while he had breath. His preaching was always based on the two distinctive doctrines of the movement : the total depravity of man : the need of salvation by faith in Christ. His practice was summed up in his own terse saying that he saw in the world two heaps, one of happiness, the other of misery, and he felt that if he could take the smallest bit from the one heap and add it to the other, he had carried a point. He was a genuine, simple product of the movement : he comforted men's souls and he comforted their bodies : he *did* add to the happiness of the world, and his life is a testimony to the value of the system of religion which produced him.

Newton was a master of epigram, and had no mean literary gift. He enriched the Church of God with several hymns, which sound the depths and heights of Christian experience. Hymnology, certainly, owes much to the Evangelical Revival. The High Church movement has, indeed, produced a few religious poems of singular beauty : but its chief offering to congregational psalmody has been the inartistic nonsense of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, with their mawkish expression of love to "sacred fonts," and such things. Till the time of the Evangelical Revival, the only poetical expression of the feelings of a congregation was to be found in the rhyme of Tate and Brady, which can still be perused at the end of some old-

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fashioned prayer-book. The Evangelicals, in the fulness of their hearts, sang, and sang such notes as are always the expression of the most sacred feelings of the Christian's soul. Newton was not really a poet : of course we should not do him the injustice to advance such a claim on his behalf. But he wrote some beautiful hymns : hymns redolent, some of them, of the salt spray and strong savour of the restless waves which he had so often breasted. The Christian mariner, his face set heavenwards, may see his sky overclouded for a time by the gloom of doubt : but with Newton he may say

“ Begone, unbelief, my Saviour is near,
And for my relief will shortly appear :
By prayer let me wrestle, and He will perform :
With Christ in the vessel, I smile at the storm.”

And many a time, as the voyage makes towards its completion, and with the westering of the sun, the haven appears in sight, comes the thought :

“ Though painful at present, 'twill cease before long,
And then, O how pleasant the conqueror's song.”

And we may at least claim for Newton a kind of poetical immortality : we cannot conceive that while the Church on earth raises her songs to heaven, she will quite cease to chant :

“ How sweet the name of Jesus sounds
In a believer's ear !
It soothes his sorrows, heals his wounds,
And drives away his fear.

“ It makes the wounded spirit whole,
And calms the troubled breast,
'Tis manna to the hungry soul,
And to the weary rest.”

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Nor will the harp-strings struck by the gentle hand of William Cowper ever cease to vibrate in the Church of God. He, again, is a distinct product of the Evangelical Revival. It may be urged that in any case his music would have sounded forth: but this is by no means certain: it is impossible to say that he would even have written but for the religious emotions which stirred his heart and impelled him to justify the ways of God to men. However that may be, but for the Evangelical Revival, his verse would never have taken the shape it did. His *Task* is a unique specimen of religious poetry: a poem redolent of Evangelicalism, and what our forefathers termed sensibility: love to God and tenderness to man. Without arguing as to what might or might not have happened if certain links in the chain of causality had been missing, we may certainly trace the links in the chain that produced the *Task*. Cowper, recovering from an attack of madness in an asylum at St Albans, was delivered from spiritual bondage into Gospel liberty by reading the passage, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His Blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God." From that time he was a deeply religious man, a firm and decided Evangelical. The fame of John Newton induced him and his long-life companion, Mary Unwin, to take up their abode in the quaint, square house in the market-place at Olney. To Olney, later, came Lady Austen, and at her suggestion Cowper wrote the *Task*.

The exquisite Olney hymns were due to the inspiration of Newton. Cowper was one of the few

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men who could combine poetry and hymnology. We have had a few such men in the Ancient Church: as Bernard of Clairvaux, whose "Jesu, dulcis memoria," is an immortal contribution to our treasure of song. We have had a few such men in the reformed Church: Keble, Charles Wesley, and pre-eminently Cowper. We all have our favourites among Cowper's hymns. There are few Christians who do not love

"God moves in a mysterious way,"

or

"There is a Fountain filled with Blood,"

or

"O for a closer walk with God."

And what tenderness is there in those lines, which seem themselves to shine with the brightness of a green day in budding spring:

"Sometimes a light surprises
The Christian while he sings:
It is the Lord who rises
With healing in His wings:
When comforts are declining
He grants the soul again
A season of clear shining
To cheer it after rain."

The *Task* contains a philosophy of life: the philosophy of many Evangelical Englishmen. It is briefly this: that true happiness is not to be found in the noisy pleasures of crowded cities, but in religion, in retirement, in communion with God, in dwelling on the beauty of His works in Nature, and in the innocent delights of the home-circle. The first qualification for happiness is to be at peace with God, and Cowper described how he found it.

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"I was a stricken deer that left the herd
Long since : with many an arrow deep infix'd
My panting side was charged when I withdrew
To such a tranquil death in distant shades.
Then was I found by One who had Himself
Been hurt by the archers. In His side He bore
And in His hands and feet the cruel scars,
With gentle force soliciting the darts,
He drew them forth, and healed, and bade me live."

The man, so set free and won to God, now, if he be happy enough to dwell away from the bustle of the town, finds an exquisite happiness in contemplating the works of God. The healing power of Nature, her mysterious influence on the spirit, are described by Cowper even before Wordsworth more fully described them: we have almost an anticipation of the "Lines written about Tintern Abbey" in the following lines:

"Scenes that soothed
Or charmed us young, no longer young, I find
Still soothing, and of power to charm us still.
And witness, dear companion of my walks,
Whose arm this twentieth winter I perceive
Fast locked in mine, with pleasure such as love,
Confirmed by long experience of thy worth,
And well-tried virtues could alone inspire :
Witness a joy that thou hast doubled long.
Thou know'st my praise of Nature most sincere,
And that my raptures are not conjured up
To serve occasion of poetic pomp,
But genuine, and art partner of them all."

The man so redeemed, restored, and enlightened, is not to maim his nature by a barren asceticism. There will be trials and doubts and difficulties in the Christian life (indeed, Cowper's own experience was dismally full of them), and they will suffice to purify

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and chasten the soul: man is not called upon to torture himself. The innocent delights of the fireside, the joys of companionship, the blessings of family life are open to him: and in them the good man can find all the joy he needs. And so the tender muse of Cowper dwells upon these joys. We all remember how he describes the coming of the evening hour. The description is now almost trite and hackneyed: but it is such a revelation of the philosophy of the Movement he expounded that I may venture to cite them once more:

“Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast,
Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round,
And while the bubbling and loud-hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups
That cheer but not inebriate wait on each,
So let us welcome peaceful evening in.”

So the man lives, fighting meanwhile an internal fight, and winning conquests over himself: his influence, though it be small, spent

“In soothing sorrow, and in quenching strife,
In aiding helpless indigence, in works
From which at least a grateful few derives
Some taste of comfort in a world of woe.”

And meanwhile, as he goes on this quiet and happy pilgrimage, he looks forward to a better world: he looks forward to a distant time when sin and strife and temptation shall be over, and there shall be a new heaven and a new earth; when the Almighty

“Shall descend
Propitious in His chariot paved with love;
And what His storms have blasted and defaced
For man's revolt, shall with a smile repair.”

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Such is the idea of the life that the Evangelical Movement is capable of producing. The picture is certainly pleasing and refreshing: and even if the conditions of thought and circumstance have changed so entirely since Cowper's time as to make it difficult or impossible to fashion the internal and external life entirely on this model, we may still admit that in more likeness to it, true and tranquil happiness is to be found, and be grateful to the Evangelical Revival for putting such an ideal before us.

But it must not be supposed that the influence of this Movement was merely individual. It can point to a triumph beside which all the achievements of High Churchism or the Church of Rome sink into insignificance. The Evangelical Revival freed the slaves. For years men like Wilberforce and Clarkson and Thornton, with hearts fired by Gospel-love, laboured to put an end to the iniquities of the slave trade and slavery. The Evangelical party aided them by self-denial and prayer. I have on my shelves the quaint, musty volumes of an old-fashioned publication called *The Evangelical Rambler*, a collection of weekly tracts which our grandfathers and grandmothers perused: they have odd woodcuts of slaves in various attitudes of torture and supplication, crouching by impossible trees and unnatural rivers; and again and again the reader is exhorted to deny himself, to consume no sugar that comes from the plantations, because slave labour is an iniquity, and of an iniquity Christians must not be partakers. These were the men, the men of the Evangelical Movement, whose efforts freed the slave. They arrayed themselves in no frippery of mediæval costume: they were not careful, indeed, to make

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their churches gay with gilding and ornament and stained glass: but they raised to God a more glorious monument than architect could design or builder execute—the monument of human freedom.

Such was the Evangelical Revival: such the awakening of spiritual life in the Church of England. It may have had its faults, its narrowness: but was on the whole great, beautiful, and a blessing to humanity in its effects.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE modern High Church Movement was started in a room of the Rectory of the little town of Hadleigh in Suffolk.

Hadleigh is a quiet and picturesque town, nestling beneath the shelter of one of the rare East Anglian hills. All the week long, save on one day, it sleeps: it sleeps in the summer sunlight, or bears patiently the pressure of winter frost: an occasional train of a couple of carriages rumbles into the old-fashioned Gothic station, and an occasional traveller descends therefrom, and deposits his bag at the "Lion." The tradesman seems to do no trade: he converses with his neighbour, or from his shop-door watches the empty street. Sometimes a cart drives in from the country, and all the echoes of the little town are aroused by the sound of its wheels. Once a week, on Monday, there *is* a little stir: there are a few cattle in the little market-place, and a few burly farmers bargain and sell: and the "Lion," roused to unwonted activity, provides an ordinary in its upper room.

But Hadleigh has been the scene of stirring historical events: events which made it a most unsuit-

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able place to begin the work of unprotestantising the Church of England in. There the martyred Rowland Taylor was Rector in Mary's tempestuous days. He courted, or won his crown of martyrdom by conduct which the conventional severely condemn in the present day—viz., by brawling in church. When Mary came to the throne, a Roman Catholic lawyer got a neighbouring Roman Catholic priest to come to Hadleigh church and repeat the old incantations, the old mechanical service of the Mass. Old Rowland, sitting in his study, heard the bell ring, rushed into church, saw the gleaming tapers long before put out, the silken robe long since banished, the wafer elevated and adored where for years God only had been worshipped. His soul was stirred within him. They were not choice of the language in those days. "Thou devil!" was the epithet which the Protestant Rector addressed to the Popish priest: and he rebuked him for "entering the church of Christ to profane it and defile it with this abominable idolatry." For that was what the Reformation in England always turned on: this was the great thing the founder of the Anglican Church witnessed for—that the Mass is abominable idolatry. Rowland Taylor was arrested and taken to London: he was tried and condemned for heresy: he was brought back to the town, his heart full of joy, while his parishioners wept for his fate: he was led out to Aldham Common and chained to the stake, and in the flames his soul passed up to his God.

Hadleigh, then, so notable in the annals of Protestantism, was a curious place in which to bring to birth the bastard Popery of the nineteenth century. And it may also be noted, to compare small things

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with great, that by another singular coincidence it was at Hadleigh, too, in 1900, that Mr Fillingham was tried, condemned, and fined for protesting against "abominable idolatry" in the neighbouring church of Kettlebaston.

Here, in July, 1833, four persons met to start the new High Church Movement—Hugh James Rose, Rector of Hadleigh, Richard Hurrell Froude, William Palmer, a layman, who wrote the history of the early days of the Tractarian Movement, and the Rev. the Hon. A. P. Perceval.

The actual cause which set the Movement going was not a very exalted one: it was pecuniary. The Catholic Revival was started to preserve the endowments of the Church. The passing of the Reform Act of 1832 had begun an era of change and improvement in every direction. Among the abuses that needed to be dealt with, one of the most flagrant was the wealth of the Established Church in Ireland. The people of the country did not belong to it: its supporters were a miserable minority. Prelates were paid highly for tending flocks which did not exist: parsons received emoluments for ministering to parishioners who rejected their services and attended the Catholic chapel. Accordingly, a Bill was brought in by the Government for suppressing ten Irish Bishoprics, and uniting the sees. The reasonableness of this was obvious: in one case, that of the diocese of Clonsfert, the bishop had only thirty-one benefices to superintend; in another, that of Killala, he had only thirty. It was obviously ridiculous to spend large sums of money on supplying a functionary for so little work: it was clear that the dioceses should be amalgamated. But the proposal excited the greatest alarm and indignation in the

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members of the Church party: an alarm which was augmented by the fact that quite recently one of the Ministers warned the Bishops of the Church of England to "set their houses in order," or a similar measure might otherwise be applied to them.

The primary motive, therefore, of the originators of the Oxford Movement was a pecuniary one: to safeguard the pockets of the clergy. It was not a very noble reason for starting a religious revival. The Church of Jesus Christ came into the world to open a way from the heart of man to the heart of God: and when superstition and paganism had crept in and obliterated the way, the Reformation came to clear away the tangled brushwood which obscured the path from man's heart to God's. The Evangelical Revival came to emphasise the spiritual side of man's nature, to remind him to listen to the sound of the deeps without, calling to the deeps within. In contrast to all this came the High Church Revival to protect the clerical pocket!

I am not saying that the motives of the men who met at Hadleigh in July, 1833, were sordid and disgraceful, or that they did not sincerely desire to persuade their countrymen that their own little fads about Apostolic Succession and so on were the truth of God: no doubt they did honestly so desire. But men's motives are so mixed. Thus these clergymen and the ecclesiastical layman who had associated himself with them (and an ecclesiastical layman is often a narrower, more stupid, and more bigoted person than your most ignorant and unhistorical High Church priest) were animated by the *esprit de corps*: they would do anything to safeguard the supposed interests of the Church which was to them

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the oracle of God. And so they unconsciously argued after this fashion within themselves, with that unuttered argument which we do not care to put into words, but which so often shapes our actions: "If we can only persuade the people of England that the Church of England is not what she has hitherto been supposed to be, a respectable department of the State, but that she is, on the contrary, the representative and voice of the living God in these realms: if we can only make them think that the clergy are not, as they have believed hitherto, a caste of civil servants appointed to look after their morals, but are, on the contrary, sacrificing priests who stand in a mediatorial position between heaven and earth: if we can only teach them the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and imbue them with the theory that all grace is confined to a Church which has Episcopal Government, and that the Dissenters are outside the pale, and are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God: if, in a word, we can get them to fancy that the Church of England is a Divine and supernatural institution: then they will be afraid to lay sacrilegious hands upon her, lest they should be punished as was Uzziah of old for laying hands on the Ark of God: and consequently, our endowments will remain unspoiled, the Bishops will still enjoy their palaces and their wealth, and the pockets of the clergy will remain untouched."

The recorder of the early history of the Tractarian Movement, Mr Palmer, has admitted plainly that it was the pecuniary motive which animated them. In an article in the *Contemporary Review*, he denounces the "new attitude of the State and of Parliament towards the Church of England," and

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"the measures which had now become possible under the pretence of Reform": he laments the act for the extinction of these useless Irish Bishoprics, and then says categorically, "This act of the Government it was which brought matters to a crisis. The result was the Oxford Movement, which, however some may have sought to explain it, really sprang from necessity: the need felt by various minds, agreeing in this essential feeling towards the Church of England and its principles." Nothing can be more explicit: it was the Act suppressing the Irish Bishoprics, and fears of similar proceedings on this side of St George's Channel, that produced the "Catholic Revival."

The conspirators — they themselves frankly described the proceedings as a "conspiracy"—met in a chamber over the entrance to an old tower, overlooking the churchyard. They met after breakfast for some hours each day, each person delivering his opinion successively on the danger of the endowments being interfered with and the best method of unprotestantising the Church. Newman and Pusey were aware of these deliberations, but were not present at them. In their absence, nothing very definite was decided upon: but the train was laid for several things which were afterwards arranged—the publication of tracts, appeals to the clergy and so on. Eventually, the matter was adjourned to Oxford.

This was the real starting of the High Church Reaction. Newman, however, attributed it rather to an Assize Sermon preached that summer at Oxford by Keble on the subject of "National Apostasy."

John Keble was a singular instance of the intellect

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which is assimilative and to some extent creative, yet which is absolutely incapable of thought in the strict sense of the word. He was enthusiastic, pious, learned, narrow, fanatical. He had a brilliant career at Oxford. In 1810, when only eighteen years old, he took a Double First, and the next year he was elected a Fellow of Oriel. He was ordained in 1815, and after spending some years in tuition at Oxford, he accepted a village living and was content to minister there all the rest of his life. In the quietude here he produced the beautiful, delicate, cold, crystalline verses which will immortalise his name and live when the illogical opinions he sought to propagate have long been forgotten. In 1827, he published the *Christian Year*. It is strange, calm poetry, quite unique in literature. There is no throb of passion in it, nothing to make the blood course more hotly through the veins: there is not even ecstatic devotion in it: it is cold, it is clear: some men's verses produce the effect of drinking a heavy wine that intoxicates and delights: the effect produced by Keble's is that of drinking of some cold crystal water that trickles down the side of a mossy stone. It is the poetry of quietism and resignation. The idea which pervades it is our sinfulness, our unworthiness: we deserve to suffer: let us not cavil at our fate, which is generally a sad one: let us bow our heads and submit our will to God's.

"Were it not better to lie still,
Let Him strike home, and bless the rod,
Never so safe as when our will
Yields undiscern'd by all but God?"

This volume was practically the only work of

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importance which Keble produced. The rest of his life was wasted in composing letters, pamphlets, addresses, protests in defence of unimportant and illogical theories—the precise value of the baptismal water, the amount of food to be taken on Fridays, and so on. To Keble this was of extreme value, and he fancied that it was the real work of his life. But we have to remember that his mind was an entirely unphilosophical mind: he was as ignorant of modern thought as the rest of his school—*e.g.*, as Canon Liddon, who in one of his most famous sermons quoted Schopenhauer, and was so ignorant that he was only able to quote him at second-hand from the works of someone else. Hence it was possible for him to be bound down by unverifiable theory and take it for fact, because it had the stamp of antiquity: to follow the Fathers, just because they were called “Fathers” by the ignorance of mediæval days: to be content with the crude imaginings of men who knew nothing of science or philosophy: in a word, to be a leader of the Catholic Revival.

To Keble both Newman and Pusey ascribed the origin of the High Church Movement: the former to the Assize Sermon already referred to, the latter to the influence of the *Christian Year*. Causes are often co-ordinate, and this stream may have several sources. At least it is necessary for our historical investigation to notice this particular source.

The celebrated sermon was preached before the University on July 14th, 1833, from the text 1 Samuel xii. 23, “As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way.” From the action of the Jews in becoming

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dissatisfied with a theocratic Government and desiring the pomp and array of visible royalty, the preacher passed on to modern times, and sketched the signs of national apostasy, signs which he fancied he saw around him. There was prevalent an indifferentism which regarded one set of religious opinions as equally good with another: there was an unwillingness to submit to religious restraint—he may have meant tests and not dried formulæ; and there was, as displayed in this legislation which so stirred the ecclesiastics, a disrespect shown to the successors of the Apostles, as he fondly imagined the Anglican bishops to be. All this was evidence of a rebellion against the Almighty to Keble. He touched on what seemed to him to be the remedies needed. After more rather dreary platitudes, dear to the High Church preacher, about “guarded language,” “hopefulness,” etc., he recommended distinct remonstrance against the encroachments of the State, and care to the Churchman of his own spiritual life and moral duties lest he should appear not to be worthy of the vocation wherewith he was called. Much of this was, of course, verbiage, and was meant to be verbiage: the sermon really revolved round the central point that the Hadleigh Conference revolved round: “We must safeguard our endowments: it is sacrilege to touch them.”

The purpose of Parliament is not in these days stayed by the clamour of the pulpit: and within a week of the preaching of the sermon the dreaded bill of spoliation duly passed. Then Keble published his sermon under the title of *National Apostasy*, and in a preface called on Churchmen to take action. Addresses to the Archbishop were got up by clergy

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and laity. Keble drew up a kind of basis of action or agreement which all signed: it started with two unproveable assertions — that the only way of salvation lies in the reception of the Holy Communion, and that the "Apostolical Commission" is the only security for the proper reception of it: and it proceeded, "We pledge ourselves one to another, reserving our canonical obedience, to be on our watch for all opportunities of inculcating a due sense of this inestimable privilege: to provide and circulate books and tracts to familiarise the imagination of men with the idea: to attempt to revive among Churchmen the practice of daily common prayer and more frequent participation of the Lord's Supper: to resist any attempt to alter the Liturgy on any insufficient authority, and to explain any points in discipline or worship which might be liable to be misunderstood." The result of this was the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*.

It will be noted that this precious document, the first written deliverance of the High Church Movement, started with the theory that Dissenters are outside the pale of salvation—for if salvation depends on the reception of the Communion, and the validity of the Communion depends on the "Apostolical Commission," clearly Dissenters are all doomed to the torments of Hell.

The most voluminous tract writer, the master-hand of the Movement, the only High Churchman of them all with a logical mind and a knowledge of history, was John Henry Newman.

There was for many years a singular atmosphere of mystery, almost of pathos, around that solitary figure. He was separated by a unique personality,

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a supreme other-worldliness, from the mass of his fellow-men. He was always a recluse, communing with his own heart. *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, said one who met him taking his solitary walk amid the pleasant hills that surround the city of spires. He lived isolated at Oxford from the political clamour of the day: isolated at Littlemore, meditating which Church had the truest claim on his allegiance: isolated at Birmingham, absorbed in study and devotion, while the traffic of the great town rolled on outside and its daily business was done: rarely seen, and when he appeared, seeming as one who had risen from the dead.

He was born in 1801. At the age of fifteen he received his first religious impressions, and underwent the mysterious change we call conversion: whatever Divine light there was in his soul he owed to the influence of the Evangelical Movement. At Oxford, Hawkins, the provost of Oriel, an old-fashioned High-Dry Churchman, sowed in his mind the doctrine of Apostolic Succession: and Whately taught him the subtle union of reason and dialectic which always characterised him: but which, with singular inconsistency, he crushed and checked and only allowed to operate within the circumference of a certain well-defined region of ideas. Then came friendship with Keble, whose attractive personality and sense of mistaken piety had an immense influence on Newman: Keble taught him the sacramental system, and the obscurantism and hatred of Liberalism in religion which was part of his nature: and he was soon committed to a life-long battle against the progress of the world.

A voyage to the South of Europe in the end of

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1832 left in his mind, unconsciously, certain influences, sowed certain seeds, which went a long way towards determining his career. He saw, he tells us, little of the services of Catholics, and what he saw he did not, or fancied he did not, like. Yet the strange mysterious attraction of the Roman Church was already upon him. That Arch-enchantress has indeed a spell and glamour of which we do well to be afraid. Dazzling men's eyes with her unity, her world-wide organisation, her unfaltering and unwavering voice: appealing to the æsthetic side by the splendour of her services: she makes men forget that she is drunken with the blood of the saints, and is the most formidable obstacle to the intellectual advance of the human race. Many, one might almost say most, religious persons have felt this weird attraction. Newman felt it. Deprived of the ministrations of his own Communion during the time of foreign travel, he wrote:

“O that thy creed were sound!
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome
By thy unwearied watch and varied round
Of service in thy Saviour's holy home.
I cannot watch the city's sultry streets,
But the wide porch invites to still retreats,
Where passion's thirst is calm'd, and care's unthankful gloom.”

And perhaps this was a premonition of the great change to come, when, tossing on the Sicilian sea, he wrote that exquisite lyric which will be part of the devotion of the Church as long as the race lasts, and invited the “Kindly Light” to lead him on to the brightness of an unknown day.

But of the trio with whom the starting of the Movement is always associated, Keble, Newman,

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Pusey, the latter, by a singular eventuality, gave its name to it: and the popular title for the attempt to graft Catholicism on a Protestant body was for many years Puseyism.

Edward Pusey is one of the most striking instances in history of a mind highly cultivated, of highest capacity, stored with the deepest historical information: yet entirely illogical, quite incapable of pursuing a train of thought to its rational conclusion.

Pusey came of a good family. His mother, according to his own account, must have held some of the old-fashioned High Church theology of the Caroline period, and he imbibed from her some form of sacramental belief, which was to largely develop in later years. He took a first class at Oxford, and afterwards travelled in Germany, and was supposed to have imbibed some of the prevalent German Rationalism. If this is so, his is but one of the many cases in which Rationalism in youth or manhood has been followed by the blankest obscurantism and superstition. His acquaintance with Eastern languages secured him the appointment to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew, and a Canonry at Christ Church went with it. His learning was undoubted and world-renowned: his piety was certainly deep and genuine, even if it was marred by the selfishness which made the salvation of his own soul his principal aim. It was a name, therefore, a personality, a foe to be reckoned with: and when he definitely joined the Oxford Movement a year after it started, he undoubtedly gave it an important impetus. Newman says in the *Apologia*, "Dr Pusey gave us at once a position and a name."

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SKIRMISH

THE first of the *Tracts for the Times*, written by Newman, was published on September 9th, 1833. It set forth in capital letters the theory that the Bishops are the successors of the Apostles: in contradistinction to the idea which had prevailed for over a century that they were merely respectable State officials. It disclosed, in its fifth paragraph, the real inner meaning of the Movement—to prevent the Church from being deprived of “its temporal honours and substance.” It went on to urge the clergy, in face of such an eventuality, to base their claim on this Apostolic descent. It contemptuously dismissed Dissenting ministers as not being “*really* ordained.” It bid defiance, as most High Church writings do, to mere facts—never mind if the ministry of the Non-conformist be pentecostal—if it turn many to righteousness—if the ministers display every sign and gift of Apostleship: never mind, for all that he is no minister of Christ at all because he has not gone through a certain mechanical ceremony. The Spirit of God does *not* blow where it listeth: it only blows at the bidding of Anglican bishops. So as you, “my dear brethren,” are the only true ministers in

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the land, cries the writer, "act up to your professions. . . . Speak out now, before you are forced, both as glorying in your profession, and to ensure your rightful honour from your people. Tell them of your gift"—and so on. And they did, and filled the land with the noise of their verbiage.

Of course opinions like these, reiterated *ad nauseam* in subsequent tracts, caught on like wildfire among the clergy, and especially the younger clergy. They had never till the Tracts appeared had the least conception that they were possessed of supernatural powers. They had regarded themselves as persons appointed by the State to preside over the parish, to set a good example to the poor, to countenance and aid the squire in any benevolent schemes he might entertain, and read two moral homilies twice on Sunday. Now, if the Tracts were true, their function was quite different. They were the representatives of heaven on earth. They held the keys of absolution in their sacred hands. They could bring down a supernatural Presence on to the communion tables of their churches. There was no grace to be obtained for the soul except through their ministry. Human nature could not resist the fascination of such a theory as this. It enhanced the importance of the parochial minister so much that he must have indeed been really endued with supernatural grace had he not fallen a victim to it. In the case of the younger clergy, of course their heads were turned: they swallowed the fable whole, they put on mediæval attire, they strutted down the streets of their villages like a cock crowing along its fowl-walk, and the "silly women" followed, cackling like hens at their heels.

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The Church of England became grotesque: this was the first and most lasting work of the Catholic Revival.

The publication of the *Tracts for the Times* began in 1833.

They began with a characteristic untruth—not, I presume, a deliberate untruth, but a false statement proceeding from that cloudiness of mind, that lack of logic, that inability to weigh and understand the facts of history, which has always been characteristic of the modern High Church Party. This statement was that the object of the Tracts was the practical revival of doctrines which had now, indeed, become obsolete, but which had been held by the great Anglican Divines. In other words, they were an attempt to make out that the Church of England is not a Protestant denomination, like the Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, etc., but is a branch of one universal Catholic Church—the other branches being the Churches of Greece and Rome.

We can never protest too strongly, nor, I think, repeat too often our protest, against this most absurd and most unhistorical theory. It can only be held by wilfully shutting the eyes to plain facts. Of course the truth of the matter is that the Church of England is the oldest denomination of Protestant Dissenters. She dissented and separated from the Ancient Church of the country, the Church of Rome, finally in 1559. The separation was right, was necessary, for the Church of Rome was a mere caricature of Christianity, but it *was* a separation. England had been Roman Catholic at heart from the time of Augustine, and when the separation came, the old Church went on, having nothing to do with

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the new denomination which, securing the aid of the State, had dispossessed it, thereby losing its continuity of ministry and doctrine. To call the two Churches, which mutually anathematised and prosecuted each other, branches of the same tree is to talk arrant rubbish. To confound the new Protestant Church which Elizabeth set up with the old Church of which the Pope was the head is as wise as it would be to confound a pickaxe with a toothpick, and try to pick one's teeth with it. As Independency, etc., separated from Anglicanism, so Anglicanism had separated from Rome. I repeat it: we English Churchmen compose the oldest sect of Protestant Dissenters.

The "Branch Theory," we may note in passing, is not only unhistorical, but it is supremely laughable. No man with any sense of humour could entertain it. For if we are the branches of one Church—if Rome, and England, and the Greek Church are all the true Churches in their respective spheres—it follows that what is true in one country is not true in another. It follows that the Pope is infallible in Rome and liable to err in Edinburgh. It follows that the Virgin Mary is immaculate in Paris, but in London she is stained with sin. This is the nonsense on which the Oxford Movement is based. This is the folly which the *Tracts for the Times* were written to propagate.

The first Tract, written by Newman, was characteristic of the series. It asked the clergy to consider on what their claims on the obedience of the flock would rest, should the Church be disestablished, and gave the answer—on the Apostolic descent. The clergy were the successors of the Apostles, and Dissenting ministers were unauthorised teachers and had received no call from God. Indeed, with the

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narrow bigotry which always characterises the party, the Tract openly hurled this insult at devoted men of God who were labouring in other denominations, and declared that those who had not been ordained by bishops in direct succession from the Apostles, had not really been ordained at all. It advised the Anglican clergy to make much of this supposed dignity. They were to tell others of the imaginary gift. They were to speak out. They were to claim their "rightful honour" from their people. And it cannot be denied that this advice has been followed. The Anglican clergy *do* speak out. They pretend that they have the keys of heaven and brand all who differ from them as heretics. Some wretched little curate, who has scraped through Oxford with the lowest degree it is possible to take, and whose ignorance of philosophy and history cannot be fathomed by the human mind, pretends that he is a superior person to men like Chalmers and Spurgeon. And the *Church Review* has solemnly declared that Nonconformist ministers are "wolves and wild beasts who prey upon the flock of God!"

And all this is done, blissfully ignoring a fact which we noted in the outset of our enquiry, that very probably these "successors of the Apostles" have no valid orders—have never really been ordained—that this pretended "Apostolic Succession" broke down hopelessly in Elizabeth's reign. Not the least amusing thing is, that the writer of this Tract himself afterwards came to realise that there are no valid orders in the Church of England—that when his converts "spoke out" about this claim, they were asses braying in the lion's skin. At all events,

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if the High Church Movement has done much harm, it has added to the gaiety of nations.

I need not particularise the rest of the Tracts. They were on the familiar theories now so universal in the Church of England, then quite unknown. They were the grafting of the cherry on to the apple tree. They preached the High Church Gospel, the Gospel of Petty Larceny: the burden of their advice to the Protestant clergy was: "Steal the doctrines of Rome, and pretend that they are your own property." They taught Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice—doctrines which the Reformers had deliberately driven out of the Reformed Church. They substituted a mechanical for a spiritual religion: they made the soul's health depend on material things: and as the sycophants of Constantine had paganised primitive Christianity, so the Tractarians paganised the Church of England.

As the Tracts began to be published, the Tractarians took care that they should be seen. They pushed their wares diligently: their strength did not lie in quietness or in confidence. Of course in this they were actuated by a conscientious spirit: they believed that their absurdities were really essential to salvation, and so they went round among the clergy, practically saying to them: "Be absurd and be saved."

Newman seems to have been the organising spirit in this work. At all events, Mr Palmer has told us how it was done in his case.

He would start out from Oxford on a pony, a bundle of tracts under his arm: he fired volleys at the clergy whose parishes he touched: he bombarded

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them at the breakfast table, he dinned the matter into their ears at dinner, and troubled them with Tractarianism at tea. The effect at first was to astound them. The whole Sacramental system was so foreign to the real spirit of the Church of England—whatever expressions, either from policy or inadvertently, may have been left in its formularies—that at first the clergy simply gazed astounded at the unintelligible doctrines put before them. It was the unfamiliar language of Rome sounding for the first time in Anglican ears.

But, as we have said, human nature being what it is, in due time the Movement was bound to catch on.

The good, respectable rector and magistrate, an entirely material person, with no taste for or understanding of spiritual things, was at first annoyed and puzzled when he perused the bundle of tracts which Newman, on his pony, had left at his door. Then his pride was flattered. He, unintelligent, half-educated, Philistine Mr B., was a person possessed of mighty spiritual gifts, the keys of absolution were in his hands! He had never imagined that he was so important a person. He greedily swallowed the bait, he exchanged his white tie for a stiff dog-collar, and became a Tractarian.

Newman became, not by election, not by thrusting himself forward, but by a natural tendency, by the consensus of men's spirits, the leader of the movement: and it is only in such guise that permanent and noteworthy leadership is to be gained. In human life men do not attain, as a rule, that which other men see them striving after. Newman's sermons at St Mary's, which now seem to us the merest commonplace, put in forcible language,

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attained an extraordinary influence: the undergraduates thronged to hear them: dons stole in and were spell-bound by the earnestness of the preacher, and gradually began to look up to him as their leader into an as yet ill-defined Promised Land.

Newman gave them then what the average mind is always craving for—a commonplace well put.

In 1834, the first volume of the Sermons was published, and we are told, in the biography of Dr Hook, that the result was as the sound of a trumpet in the land. If so, the beauty of the sound was due to the skill of the player, not to the importance or novelty of the tune. The Sermons contain such sapient discoveries as this: "Supposing a man of unholy life was suffered to enter Heaven, he would not be happy there"; or, as a proof of the doctrine of the Trinity, this: "If our Redeemer was not God, and our Sanctifier was not God, how great would have been the danger of preferring creatures to the Creator?" This is as saying that two and two make four. But people like to hear that two and two make four, if the statement is put in clear and delicate language. Newman knew that he was talking to commonplace people, and adapted himself to their capacity.

It was not possible that this new religion should be invented without serious opposition being encountered. It was the newest and maddest of all religious crazes that had ever been the product of the human intellect—this theory of Popery without the Pope, Catholicism without the Catholic Church—and of course reasonable men were startled and rendered indignant.

The first shot, however, was fired from the Tractarian side. The new heretics took the initiative.

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In 1834, Dr Hampden, then Bampton Lecturer, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, published a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Religious Dissent." His contentions were those of charity and common-sense, and therefore excited the wrath of bigotry and superstition. In this and in his Bampton lectures, he pointed out the obvious truth that theological propositions are not identical with the simple religion of Christ—*i.e.*, that pure Christianity is not necessarily dogmatic.

This is an obvious proposition, to the unprejudiced. If we peruse attentively the recorded sayings of Christ, we find scarcely any dogma at all. Beyond His assertion that He was Himself the way from the heart of man to the heart of God, we have little theology in the Gospels: the rest is beautiful moral teaching. Theology is the rust of the ages growing on the firm deposit of Christian truth.

Dr Hampden, in his pamphlet, drew a distinction between the "facts" of Scripture, and the inferences drawn from them by human interpreters. These inferences, he contended, are only binding on those who believe them to be true, and they could not, therefore, be binding on callow undergraduates, who had never even considered them. His conclusion, therefore, was that an undergraduate should not be forced to declare his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England before he could become a member of the University. This was a noble effort on behalf of truth, and was therefore necessarily distasteful and even horrible to the party which adopted the Jesuitical theory of the permissibility of falsehood. For to say that a proposition is binding on a man who does not believe in it, is to

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say that he is bound to utter his assent to what he believes to be a lie: and than that, no view can be more immoral—but it was the view of Mr Newman and his friends. To ask a young man to declare his belief in statements which he has never studied and does not therefore understand, is to train him up to a disregard of truth and honour. This is what the Tractarians began to do, and for a time they were successful. At their instigation, a proposal in the Convocation of Oxford to relieve young men from the necessity of perjuring themselves at the outset of their academical career, was defeated in May, 1835, by a majority of five to one.

Towards the end of the year, Lord Melbourne, the first Prime Minister of Queen Victoria, an easy-going man of the world, who cared nothing for dogmatic speculation, appointed Dr Hampden Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

At once an uproar began. The Tractarians pulled the strings, and many foolish Evangelicals, who did not realise that dogmatic religion is necessarily bound up with the idea of a teaching and authoritative Church, danced as they were desired. Meetings were held, petitions and remonstrances were sent up to London against the appointment. But Lord Melbourne was unmoved by the clerical clamour and went his own way without heeding the din: the appointment remained unrescinded. The Tractarian Party, however, managed to inflict a petty measure of persecution on the unorthodox Professor. They carried a vote in Convocation depriving him of his voice in the appointment of the Select Preacher appointed to preach before the University.

Thus the first blood was drawn in the long

The First Skirmish

struggle. The Tractarians had unsheathed the weapon of persecution, and they could not be surprised if hereafter the same weapon was wielded against themselves. For the party of priestcraft to resort to persecution was certainly no extraordinary thing, but what was to be naturally expected. Priests always persecute. Imagining that they possess the whole truth, and that all who differ from themselves are dangerous to their own souls and the souls of others, are diseased and are the centres of infection, priests regard persecution as a conscientious duty. The weapons differ in different ages: sometimes they are carnal, sometimes moral: but persecution is always involved in priestcraft, and therefore priestcraft is a scourge to mankind, and is incompatible with the spirit of the Christian religion.

CHAPTER V

UNDOING THE REFORMATION

THE Tractarians, as we have seen, had begun the movement of intolerance and aggression in 1835. They now began to set openly about what has always been their object: to undo the work of the Reformation, to destroy the edifice which our forefathers had cemented with their blood.

The controversy for some time went on upon literary lines, and this and the succeeding years, the pen of Keble was busy in furthering the objects of the innovators. Theological writings are as a rule prosy and valueless, and in the domain of faith and morals, the theologians are the most untrustworthy guides: yet we are bound for a moment to take down from their shelves their dusty tomes to see what work the counter-Reformers were at.

The Reformers had, of course, held that Episcopacy was an ancient and permissible form of Church Government. This was true: Episcopacy, like most other things doctrinal and practical, was a natural growth, and largely a matter of convenience. There is, indeed, no trace of Episcopal Government in New Testament days, in the earliest eras of the Church: but it is quite easy to understand how, as

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the number of converts increased, and the territorial influence of the Church was extended, the ministers of the various scattered congregations would be likely to appoint someone of particular gifts of spirituality and organisation to preside over the affairs of a district. Thus Episcopacy came in—merely *oversight*, as is the literal meaning of the word—but human nature being what it is, it is easy to understand how carnal men would “magnify their office,” in a sense the Apostle never meant, and claim Divine authority for that which was merely a convenient arrangement. Hence arose the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. The Reformers did not hold it: it was foreign to the spirit of a Church which had separated from an older Communion. So Hooker, the great apologist of the Reformed Church, the first High Churchman of the old High Church party, allowed the validity of non-episcopal orders, and the cure of souls was constantly exercised by persons who had not been episcopally ordained.

Keble accordingly published an edition of the works of Hooker, with a preface explaining Hooker away. Hooker was made to mean what he never meant, and was pressed into the service of the Oxford Movement. This has invariably been the practice of the High Church theologians—to explain away. The Bible, the Prayer-book, the Articles, all have been explained away in turn, so it was not likely that Hooker would escape. Indeed, in the case of the unfortunate Hooker, the process still goes on. The writer of these pages, when an undergraduate at Oxford, was immensely edified and seized with inextinguishable laughter, to hear Dr Paget, now Bishop of Oxford, explain away Hooker in Christ

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Church Hall—he was dealing with the passage in which Hooker denies the doctrine of the Real Presence, and devoted the hour of his lecture to explaining to us that his author meant the exact opposite of what he said.

There is an important lesson to be drawn from this process, ridiculous as its contrivers are. It emphasises the irreconcilable opposition between the old High Church Party and the Party of 1833. The Catholic Revivalists are never tired of reiterating that their position in the Church of England is legitimate because they are the successors of the school of thought, meagre in numbers, but prolific in writing, which existed for some time after the Reformation. But the position is absolutely untenable. Their religion is modern at every point, and is no more in accordance with the tenets of the old High Church Party than it is with the tenets of the Low Churchmen or the Latitudinarians. And this is evinced beyond all possibility of controversy by the fact that they had to resort to every kind of device to read into the writings of the old High Churchmen propositions which are the exact opposite of what the writers intended.

The next literary effort of the anti-Reformers was the publication of the *Remains* of Richard Hurrell Froude. Froude was a young man of strong conviction and restless energy, who, by his power of epigram and strong personality, contributed greatly to stir on other leaders of the Movement to further developments. Born in 1803, he became a pupil of Keble, and from him learned what are termed, by a perversion of language, Church principles. He became a fellow of Oriel and a friend of Newman :

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he went abroad for his health with the latter in 1833, and was with him when the strange glamour of the Roman Church fascinated his imagination. He took part in the Hadleigh meeting which started the Movement: then he bustled about Oxford common rooms and lecture rooms, stimulating and goading on others, criticising the English Church, denouncing the Reformers, pointing out the superiority of Rome. He used, indeed, very strong language about the Church of England, language which raised a suspicion of his loyalty to her, though he never left her. "Let us give up a national Church, and have a real one," he said. When his *Remains*—his correspondence and reflections—were published (he had died at the early age of thirty-three), the public mind was chiefly shocked by his language about the Reformers. No one had hitherto spoken without reverence of the men who had given their lives to refashion and remodel the Church in the sixteenth century and purge her of mediæval superstition. Now men, with astonishment, found them reviled and attacked, and their work treated as mischievous. The book raised the natural suspicion, which has since been amply justified, that the leaders of the Oxford Movement could not be loyal to the principles of the Reformation, and it also raised the question of their honesty: men asked and ask:—However they may deceive themselves, can it in any way be justifiable for men to remain in, and in most cases receive the emoluments of, a Church whose foundation principles they disbelieve in, and whose founders they detest?

This one fact has served to stamp the Catholic Revival with the stamp of dishonesty. The attitude

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of the High Churchmen in later years became still more accentuated. We have, *e.g.*, men like Dr Littledale, the author of many tracts, and a remarkable book called *Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome*, describing the Reformers as "villains." We saw the principal organ of the Movement in the Press, the *Church Times*, ridiculing and abusing them week after week in its columns. And all this has led to the irresistible conclusion the Movement is not honest.

Meanwhile, a party was being formed, and a convenient name was required for it. This was secured by the adhesion of Dr Pusey. He was a Canon of Christ Church, he held a leading position in the University, and though absolutely destitute of the logical faculty, he possessed considerable intellectual gifts. The Tractarians generally went by the name of Puseyites, and though it fell somewhat into disuse when the Ritual developments of the Movement excited more public attention, it is a convenient nickname, as emphasising the fact that the religion of 1833 is an absolutely new one, and has no connection with antiquity of any kind.

But though Pusey gave his name to the Movement, perhaps Newman was doing most of the work. He got hold of the young men. He used to disseminate Tractarian teaching at the great institution of Oxford, the breakfast party, and theology trickled forth with the tea and doctrine was dispensed with the devilled kidney. His style was clear and beautiful, and his Sunday afternoon lectures at St. Mary's attracted crowds of undergraduates. In this, with much sound moral teaching, the new ideas were subtly instilled into youthful minds. And so by pulpit,

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by private intercourse, by literature, the work was being quietly, gradually done. A body of men were being formed disloyal to the Church of their Baptism, and desirous of bringing back the corruptions from which in the sixteenth century we had escaped.

CHAPTER VI

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT BETRAYING ITSELF

THE loyal members of the Church of England were alarmed at the spread of foreign ideas in their midst. They did not want to take their religion from Italy. They did not want to see their chaste and beautiful Church defiled with meretricious adornments borrowed from Rome. And they resolved to show to the world by a plain test what the Oxford Movement meant.

In the end of 1838, they resolved to erect a memorial in Oxford to the martyrs of the English Reformation, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and they opened a subscription for that purpose.

These men, whatever their failings—and who is free from failings?—had by their deaths practically delivered England from superstition and the Mass. Cranmer, indeed, when worn out by confinement, and the prospect of a cruel death, had for a while wavered: God knows whether you and I, reader, would not waver too, were such a prospect before us! But his God had given him courage at the last again, and he had died denying the doctrine of the Real Presence: he had died *because* he denied it. And Latimer and Ridley before him, when on that bluff,

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gusty October morning, they ascended in a fiery chariot to heaven, had died denying the doctrine of the Real Presence. Latimer's prophecy was true—this funeral pyre lighted in England such a candle as should never be put out—that candle was the light of the Gospel, that candle was the light of freedom and untrammelled thought.

To ask for aid in erecting a memorial to the Martyrs was to bring men to a touchstone, which would reveal clearly what they were. Those who supported such a scheme would testify their loyalty to the Reformation and the Reformed Church, and their disbelief in the doctrine of the Real Presence. Those who hesitated, opposed, or hindered would show that they were disloyal to their Church and to the memory of her martyred founders.

The Tractarians were therefore placed in a very awkward position. Pusey was at first inclined to temporise, and even to profess to support an object which was to him in reality detestable. But Newman was too honest or too courageous to have anything to do with the matter. He refused to subscribe to the Memorial, and he induced his friends to refuse. The action, the attitude were characteristic of the subsequent careers of the two men. Pusey continued to temporise to the end. He remained to his death in a Church whose foundation principles he disbelieved in. Newman, six years afterwards, joined the Church which is the true home of all his partisans.

The Protestants, of course, easily subscribed the needed funds, and the Memorial was set up, and still it stands in Oxford, at the head of broad St Giles'. It is more than a memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: it is an enduring memorial of

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a great and significant fact. It testifies that the High Church Movement is foreign to the spirit of the Church of England. It testifies that the High Church party are disloyal to the institution whose bread they eat. It testifies that the University of Oxford repudiated and rejected Tractarianism when it first reared its head.

And not only the University of Oxford, but the heads of the Church too spoke out clearly, distinctly about the Movement. The Bishop of Chester was the most outspoken of them all. In 1838, he delivered a charge in which he exposed and condemned "the undermining of the foundations of our Protestant Church by men who dwell within her walls," and in a later utterance he denounced the Movement as the work of Satan himself. The other Bishops, in perhaps less strenuous language, followed suit, and in 1840 we find Newman complaining that the Bishops "would not let them alone."

Those Bishops were unlike the Bishops of the present day. They were prepared to do their duty, and they believed that as honest men they were bound to keep their consecration vows.

These facts are significant, and to be kept in mind. The Church of England has no authoritative organ of expression by which she can condemn error and tell us what is true, what is, in her estimation, false. But when her rulers speak with a practically unanimous voice, we are pretty sure that we are ascertaining her real mind. And when superstition first raised its head in the Church of England, when the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolic Succession, the Real Presence, and the rest of it, were first introduced, then with a practically unanimous

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voice the Bishops *did* speak. And they said that they have no place in the Church of England: they are foreign to her traditions: they are opposed to the convictions of the men who brought about her Reformation.

And that testimony remains, and cannot be done away with. The Oxford Movement is branded for ever with the mark of disloyalty.

CHAPTER VII

NUMBER XC

IN 1841 came an event in the history of the Oxford Movement which startled the religious world—the publication of Tract Number XC.

To state the matter at the outset in one sentence, the object of this Tract was to explain away the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and make some of them mean the exact opposite of what they say.

Yet my own investigations do not lead me to the conclusion that Newman, the author of this startling Tract, was deliberately dishonest in this attempt. He was, rather, in the position of a boy who whistles as he goes through the churchyard to keep up his courage in the darkness of night. Tract XC was a desperate whistle uttered by Newman to frighten away Roman ghosts.

We must follow a little here the variations of his religious opinions to see clearly into the matter.

Up to 1839, Newman seems to have had no doubt as to the logicity of the High Church position. He was content to be as muddle-headed as the rest of them: to believe that the creation of the Protestant Reformation remained an integral portion of the

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"Catholic" Church. He had in 1837 published a treatise on the "Prophetical Office of the Church," the object of which was to construct a satisfactory position for Anglicanism as against the claims of Rome; for Roman Catholics were expressing amusement and Protestants alarm at the strange new religion which was neither one thing nor the other. Plain people said that the only logical outcome of it was Rome. So Newman concocted his theory and published his treatise to endeavour to prove that there was a compromise possible. He named his theory the *Via Media*—the "middle way." It was based on three fundamental points—dogma, the sacramental system, and anti-Romanism. He taught that the Greek, Latin, and Anglican Churches are three representatives of the primitive undivided Church, and that these branches agreed in all but "their later accidental errors." That is to say, in plain language, the man of the *Via Media* was to be allowed to pick out what doctrines Newman chose from Rome and graft them on to Anglicanism—he might filch from her the Real Presence, but not the Primacy of the Pope: and so on.

Newman's mind was too keen not to have fears from the very first about the soundness of this position. He admitted that it was only an ingenious theory: he called it a "paper religion." He said, actually, in the preface to the volume in question, "Protestantism and Popery are real religions, but the *Via Media*, viewed as an integral system, has scarcely had existence except upon paper." This gives away the case of modern Ritualism entirely. The Romish religion and our religion are, indeed, real and consistent with themselves: but High Churchism is

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stamped for ever with the mark, not only of absurdity, but of unreality. It is not a real religion.

Newman's *Via Media* did not long remain to him a house of refuge from the keen blasts of logic and history. In the Long Vacation of 1839, he began to study the history of the Monophysites—one of the numerous so-called "heretical" sects of the early Church, which dabbled in metaphysical speculation as to the nature of our Lord. He found the Church of Rome condemning this "heresy" in the fifth century, as she condemned other "heresies" in the nineteenth, and he began to fear that if she had the right to do so then, she had the right to do so now. "What was the use," he asked himself, "of continuing the controversy or defending the position, if, after all, I was forging arguments for Arius and Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo?"

Then came another shock. He saw an article in the *Dublin Review* for August, 1839, in which Dr Wiseman compared the Anglicans to the Donatists—an African sect of the fourth century. He was startled by the words of Augustine concerning them, which meant to him that Rome represented then, and therefore now, the consensus of Christian opinion, and therefore was infallible.

From that time his doubts concerning the position of the Church of England came thick and fast. And other men were doubting too. It was impossible for a large number of intellectual beings to go on content with a position of absolute illogicality. Some began to move. Some felt a difficulty in taking orders, and signing the Thirty-nine Articles. So, in a vain

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attempt to quiet his own doubts, and stop others from moving, Newman wrote Tract XC to prove that the Protestant Articles were capable of a non-natural interpretation.

The Tract begins by stating that "it is often urged and sometimes felt and granted, that there are in the Articles propositions or terms inconsistent with the Catholic Faith"—meaning thereby: Puseyism—the Catholic Faith invented in 1833. "The following Tract is drawn up with the view of showing how groundless the objection is," and then he goes on to show it by explaining away the plain meaning of the words which denounce the errors of Rome.

Article XXII states that "The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God." Newman seizes on the word *Romish*. Only *Romish* doctrines on these points are condemned. You may hold the doctrine under the name of *Primitive*—or any other name—if you don't call it *Romish*. You may invoke saints, if you do not "entrench upon the incommunicable honour due to God alone." And of course all this to the plain man seemed juggling with words—for we all know the Reformers had no such subtle distinction in mind, but meant to condemn all doctrines and practices of the kind.

The Twenty-fifth Article was dealt with in the same way. It states that there are only two Sacraments of the Gospel. The Roman doctrine, as we all know, is that there are seven Sacraments: but its five additional ones—Confirmation, Penance, Orders,

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Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are condemned by the Article as not being Sacraments of the Gospel. To the plain man this means that in the Church of England there are only two Sacraments. But Newman is equal to the occasion. The five are, according to him, sacraments, but not in the *sense* that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are—which is all the Article means. Surely, in that case, it need not have been written!

But the most flagrant instance of misinterpretation is on the subject of the Mass.

The Thirty-first article states "The sacrifice of Masses, in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were *blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits*."

That is, in the opinion of the Reformers, the daily service of the Roman Church, the daily sacrifice, when the wafer is elevated amid the prostration of the people and the ringing of bells, is an imposture, a blasphemy, and a falsehood. That is what the Reformers meant, and we *know* they meant it by what they did. They abolished the Mass. It became a penal offence to say or hear Mass in England after St John Baptist Day, 1559.

Newman evaded the difficulty in Tract XC, as the Ritualists evade it now, by saying that only the *sacrifice of Masses* is condemned, not the sacrifice of the *Mass*. The Mass is all right in the singular, even if it be wrong in the plural!

I will not detain my readers with any refutation of this monstrous sophistry. It carries with it its own condemnation and refutation. But I will let its author answer his own sophistry himself, and tell us

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what he found, when he came to his senses, that the Thirty-first Article condemned.

In his masterly novel, *Loss and Gain*, he poses his hero, Charles Reding, with the following question: "Can two religions be one, if the most sacred and peculiar act of worship in the one is called 'a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit' in the other?"

Newman has answered himself.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPUDIATION OF TRACT XC

THE effect of the publication of Tract XC, on February 27th, 1841, was that of a bombshell exploding. Alarm and indignation were aroused on every hand.

A meeting of loyal Churchmen was at once held in Wadham College. Men of high standing in the University, amongst whom was the future Archbishop of Canterbury, met and drew up a letter to the Editor of the Tracts—for it was not yet known who had been the author of the objectionable publication.

They wrote as follows:—

“SIR—Our attention having been called to Number XC in the Series of *Tracts for the Times* by Members of the University of Oxford, of which you are the Editor, the impression produced on our mind by its contents is of so painful a character that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. This publication is entitled ‘Reflections on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,’ and as these Articles are appointed by the Statutes of the University to be the text-book for Tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold

The Repudiation of XC

in our respective Colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

"The Tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that these Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines

"1. Of Purgatory,

"2. Of Pardons,

"3. Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,

"4. Of the Invocation of Saints,

"5. Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them 'in their literal and grammatical sense,' and does not 'affix any new sense' to them. The Tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the Scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

"We readily allow that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church, which has been advocated by many of its most learned Bishops and other

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eminent divines: but the Tract puts forward new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches.

"In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorised to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the Tract, should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents.

"We are, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servants,

"T. T. CHURTON,

"H. B. WILSON,

"JOHN GRIFFITHS,

"A. C. TAIT."

This is an historic document, and is known as the Letter of the Four Tutors. It was written on the 8th of March, and next day circulated in print in the University. Newman merely acknowledged it, and did not give his name.

Then the Heads of Houses met. These were, personally, the most eminent and learned men in the University—men who after a lengthy academic

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career had been elected, by the suffrages of their fellows, to the highest position in their respective colleges. They decided to answer the Tract by a majority of nineteen to two. In due course, this answer was published, and it showed that they had taken the document in question as all plain dealers must take it—they described it as evading rather than explaining the sense of the thirty-nine Articles.

The Bishop of Oxford was a cautious man, and, like a good many modern bishops, wanted to sit on two stools, and not compromise himself by any definite declaration. He found the High Church Party growing in numbers, and did not, therefore, want to offend it. But Tract XC was too much even for a "safe" bishop. He asked Newman not to publish any more discussions at all on the meaning of the Articles in the Tracts: and Newman, "very much pained," acquiesced.

The Archbishop of Canterbury took the same line. In one letter, he spoke of "that unfortunate Tract," and said, of the Bishop of Oxford's remarks, "You temper your expressions with so much kindness, that the only pain it can give the writer of the Tract must arise from the reflection that there must be something wrong in the publication when it is deemed objectionable by one whose disposition is so friendly towards him." In a second letter, he calls the Jesuitical passages in Tract XC, "very objectionable," and he doubts whether they would admit of "a satisfactory explanation in all respects," and he concludes by saying, "it seems most desirable that the publication of the Tracts should be discontinued for ever."

The Bishop of Oxford sent for Pusey to his palace at Cuddesdon, and urged the suppression of the Tract,

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and, like the Archbishop, the discontinuance of the series. Much correspondence followed. Newman was annoyed and hurt: he hesitated and expostulated: he objected to the Tract being suppressed: he threatened to resign his living of St Mary's. When Bishops are badgered and opposed, they generally give way in the long run, and finally Bishop Bagot of Oxford gave way on the point of the suppression. But on one point there could be no compromise: the Tracts which had done so much harm, and so perturbed men's minds, had to cease.

Thus, in a way, Tract XC, with all its disingenuousness, had done good: it had cleared the air: it had made the Church of England, so far as she had a voice, speak out and define her position. The heads of the University, the heads of the Church, had made it clear that Tractarianism was not the teaching of the Anglican Establishment. Henceforth, there was only one course open to logical and honourable men—and the judgment of the Church being unrescinded, there is only one course open to them now:—if they believe in the Real Presence, the Mass, Purgatory, to quit a body which repudiates them, and go where they can be honestly believed and taught.

And, in due course, the honest and logical men went.

CHAPTER IX

WILFRID GEORGE WARD

WE cannot write a history of the Ritualistic Movement without devoting a chapter to Ward—flighty, eccentric, indeed, but one of the sincerest of them all. He may be called the spokesman of modern High Churchism. He gave utterance to its motto, its leading motive, for he said: "Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper."

How otherwise can we explain the conduct of clergy who solemnly reject Masses as blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, and then openly celebrate Masses? How otherwise can we explain the conduct of Bishops who vow to drive away all erroneous doctrines contrary to God's Word, and then encourage them, and promote the clergy who preach them? Only on the hypothesis that they are conscientiously following Wilfrid George Ward's advice, and have made it clear that they are justified in deception, and consequently lie like troopers.

That is the history of the Oxford Movement in a sentence—a consistent career of lying like troopers.

Ward was an Oxford tutor and clergyman: a fellow of Balliol: a brilliant writer and conversa-

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tionalist, and became one of the leading lights of Tractarianism. He was the most Roman of them all, and was almost consciously drifting towards Rome when the others were still persuading themselves that "Catholic" doctrine and practice could find a congenial home in the Protestant Establishment. He seems to have had a great influence over Newman: Archbishop Tait goes so far as to say in his diary, "Ward worried him into writing Tract XC."

When the controversy about this Tract began to rage, Ward published a pamphlet on the subject. He carried its teaching further than Newman himself: he disclosed more openly the tendency of such teaching. He avowed that such teaching contradicted that of the Reformers. He declared that the Articles must be subscribed in a "non-natural sense." He apologised for remaining in the Church of England, and practically admitted that the bias of his own mind was towards Rome, and that he held her claims to be paramount and pressing. He talked about "levelling up the tone" of our Church: of "building her up in truth and purity": and of the difficulties a "Catholic Christian" found in remaining in her communion.

This was going further than most of the leaders of the Movement thought it prudent to go, and Pusey repudiated the sentiments of Mr Ward. The Protestant party naturally felt that his teaching was unsuited to his position in the Church and University. Tait called the attention of the Master of Balliol to the matter, and urged that a man who wrote such a sentence as "the darkness of Protestant error" was not a fit Tutor for young men who were

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members of a Protestant Church. The Master was a personal friend of Ward, and, like most others, felt deeply the charm of his conversation and manners: but he was deeply shocked at the spectacle of an English clergyman advocating and defending the errors of Rome: and he made up his mind to ask him to resign his Tutorship. Ward, however, saved him from having to perform this disagreeable duty: he came to him and said he had heard of his wishes, and placed his resignation in his hands.

With the retirement of Newman from active participation in the Movement (of which we shall speak in a subsequent chapter), Ward became a more prominent leader, and the Romanism of Tractarianism became more aggressive. It was avowed that the ultimate goal was reunion with Rome: and the extreme men justified their conduct in remaining in the Church of England on the ground that Providence had placed them in it, that its formularies were so elastic as to allow the holding of Roman doctrine within its pale, and that by so remaining they might gradually prepare others for imbibing such Roman doctrine and for final secession to Rome. This latter reason has undoubtedly kept many Ritualistic clergymen in our midst. Ward busied himself in season and out of season in promulgating his views at dinner parties, in common rooms, in walks with tutors and undergraduates. He had great power of wit: his conversations charmed the hearer. The afternoon walk is a great institution at Oxford: and as the seasons changed, as the green leaves almost hid Magdalen towers, as the rare colours of autumn lighted their sombre fires in Bagley

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Wood, in the pleasant ways that surround the towered city, by river and stream, by the side of the low hills, arguments resounded daily on the Primacy of Peter, the need of Confession, the importance of sacramental grace.

Ward's mind, unlike that of the modern High Churchman, was a strictly logical one. He was following principles to their conclusion. He saw that the rudimentary theses of Tractarianism committed him to the theory that there is only one Church, and that the Church of England is no part of it. He saw that the Branch Theory, which makes these warring Communion all essentially one, is in reality absurd. He was too clever to masquerade as a "Catholic" before he was inside the "Catholic" Church.

A "Catholic" priest said to him one day, "I suppose you call yourself a Catholic, Mr Ward?"

"Oh dear, no!" replied the logical thinker: "*You are a Catholic, I am a Puseyite.*"

These words should be enshrined in the heart and memory of the mummers who to-day perform what Lord Beaconsfield so truly termed the Mass in Masquerade.

Ward occasionally preached at Margaret Chapel, a little erection which developed into the present church of All Saints', Margaret Street, W. It was a remarkable little building: there the first beginnings of actual Ritualism were seen. The pulpit and reading-desk were, about the year 1839, moved from their proper position in front of the Communion-table, where, in really Protestant churches, they still ought to be placed. The Communion-table was termed an "altar"—a term which is not to be found in the

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Prayer-book—and was decorated with frontal, cross, and candles. The Bishop would not allow the candles to be lighted, except in the case of a fog, for which change of weather the Tractarians, with innate childishness, used to look eagerly forward. The service was intoned, a thing hitherto unknown outside cathedrals, the sermons were short, and Margaret Chapel soon attracted a fashionable congregation.

The incumbent of Margaret Chapel was the Rev. Frederick Oakley. His sermons and those of Ward were not controversial. They preached mainly on practical duties. On one occasion, Ward preached a practical sermon on literal obedience to Christ, which enabled him to corner the Bishop of London in a very neat manner. He had preached on what theologians term "the Evangelical counsel of poverty." Complaint was made to Bishop Blomfield, and the Bishop sent for Ward. The Bishop charged him with having advocated monkish principles, and asked him where was the giving up of all things recommended—either by our Church or in the Scriptures? And of course Ward answered the unwary Bishop by quoting the text: "One thing is wanting to thee: go sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven."

Mr Ward, with his Roman feelings, imagined that this justified the lazy monks, who, though they had everything in common, lived in their monasteries on the fat of the land. As a matter of fact, it was part of the political teaching of our Lord: He was a social reformer, and in His dealings with the rich young man, He foreshadowed a time

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of Social Reform, when the extremes of riches and poverty, the distinctions of rank, which disfigure our civilisation, shall have ceased—a time, in a word, when this heathen world which masquerades under the name of Christianity, shall have become Christianised.

The Bishop of London, of course, was a “safe man”—or he would not have been Bishop of London. That means, that he was quite safe from the danger of having any serious convictions, or the danger of acting on them if he had them. He was bound to be conventionally shocked at Mr Ward’s defence of monasticism. He would have been still more shocked had he entertained the fearful suspicion that Mr Ward was a Christian, and really believed in the ethical teaching of Christ.

In 1844, Ward published his celebrated book, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*. It put before men the conception of a visible Body, commissioned to dispense moral truths to mankind. It must have four marks, Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity. The Church of England did not correspond to such an ideal. She had sinned in separating herself from the rest of Christendom. High Churchmen should therefore unite in making war upon the principles of the Reformation. The doctrine of justification by faith must be expelled from the Church. The Roman Church was in everything right and we were wrong, and we must humbly sue at her feet for pardon and restoration.

Of course, such a book raised a storm. It was published when Oxford was empty, and her towers were dreaming in their summer sleep: but when the October Term came, action was taken. The Heads of

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Houses resolved to call a Convocation to condemn Mr Ward and his book. Certain passages were singled out for reprobation: among others: that we ought to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting the communion of the Church of Rome: and his rhetorical declaration, couched in the curious language of the party and the period: "We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight, we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen."

Of course such language was inconsistent with membership of the Protestant Establishment. But Wilfrid George Ward had the honesty to say whatever he thought, regardless of the consequences. Modern Ritualists think as he did, but do not say it.

Before Convocation met, Ward published an appeal justifying his doctrine that men may subscribe to the Articles and formularies in a non-natural sense. He pointed out that there were certain things in the Prayer-book which Low Churchmen did not take in a natural sense—*e.g.*, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. The charge was true at the time, and could not be answered. Mr Spurgeon, in some remarkable sermons preached in 1864, reiterated the charge, and declared that we were dishonest in remaining in the Church of England and rejecting her doctrine of Baptism. But *then* the charge could be answered completely. For the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had declared in 1850 that the words of the Baptismal service are not necessarily to be taken literally: and the Judicial Committee of the

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Privy Council is the Living Voice of the Church of England.

Convocation met on February 13th, 1845. Ward spoke, and spoke in no conciliatory tone: he reiterated his claim to hold all Roman doctrine in the Anglican Church. The House divided, and the censure of his book was carried by 777 votes to 391: and then the punishment of depriving him of his degrees was inflicted by a majority of 569 to 511. Mr Ward, a middle-aged clergyman of the Church of England, became an undergraduate.

The close of his career was farcical. He wanted to marry, and with his wife he joined the Catholic Church. His theory had been that a clergyman ought to be a celibate. His reason for joining Rome and becoming a layman was the same that keeps beneficed and married High Churchmen in the Church of England.

Their answer to the dictates of logic and conscience is, "I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come."

CHAPTER X

THE PASSING OF NEWMAN

IN 1839, Newman was at the height of his influence in Oxford. His personality was so magnetic, he was surrounded by such an air of other-worldliness, that the young men of the day came to look upon him almost as a being of another sphere. Principal Shairp tells us that undergraduates would whisper, in a tone of awe, "That's Newman," as he passed, and that an uncanny feeling would possess them, as though they had seen an apparition.

We have seen how it was at this period that the first doubt crossed his mind as to the tenableness of the Anglican position. Hitherto he had been satisfied with his *Via Media* theory—that the Church of England was a safe compromise between Popery and Protestantism. It was pulverised by the words of St Augustine: "*Securus judicet orbis terrarum*"—"the world judges in security." The world, gathered round the Roman see—this was how it struck him—was the authority to decide: how could one province be right, and the world wrong? Was it reasonable that England should have a special illumination apart from all the rest of the Christian community? This was topsy-turvyism: it was asserting that a

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part is greater than the whole. And the isolation of the Church of England was her condemnation.

The vividness of the impression made by these words on the mind of Newman passed away for a time, but the uncanny feeling remained. For a moment he had been compelled to say to himself, "The Church of Rome will be found right after all": and, he tells us, "He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." Newman sometimes walked in the daylight, but the evening soon closed in, and then, lurking in dark corners, there was always the shadowy spectre of Rome. He reasoned with himself that the suggestion might have come from below, not from above, and he decided that time alone could solve the question.

His *Via Media* theory gone, he now resolved mainly to defend the Anglican position by dwelling on the corruptions and abuses of Rome. These corruptions and abuses, very oddly, were not now to him Mary-worship and Saint-worship, images and relics, but what he considered her political wrongdoing. A prejudiced Tory, he was particularly shocked at Rome allying herself with the Liberal party on the Irish questions. At the same time he went on trying to persuade himself and others that the English Church had the note of Catholicity. This was the origin of the writing of Tract XC—the attempt to make our Protestant articles speak with a Catholic voice.

But all the while, events in his own mind and events outside it were still testifying that Catholicism has no proper place in the Protestant Establishment. He contemplated resigning St Mary's, the University church, and retiring to his old parish of Little-

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more, a village a mile or so from Oxford. He had built a church there, and had bought ten acres of ground with a view to founding a monastic house. The authorities of the University were showing dislike of his sermons at St Mary's. The Vice-Chancellor threatened to keep his own children away when Newman preached. Another Vice-Chancellor, when his turn came to occupy the pulpit, denounced Newman's doctrines from it. And so he asked himself, "Ought one to be disgusting the minds of young men with the received religion in the exercise of a sacred office, yet without a commission, and against the wishes of the guides and governors?"

This was the fact of the matter in a nutshell. The logical mind of Newman felt it: the modern Ritualist is too illogical and stupid to feel it. High Anglicanism, Catholicism, is not the "received religion" of the Church of England.

However, by the advice of Keble, he stayed on for the time at St Mary's. Then came Tract XC and the potholer that followed. Then, in the summer of 1841, the "ghost" came a second time—his reading led him to the conclusion that the Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians Puseyites, and that Rome, then and now, had the truth. The fact of the Bishops, one after another, charging against him, first showed him that he and his followers were not in their rightful home. And then, as a final stroke, came the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric.

The King of Prussia desired to introduce Episcopacy into the Lutheran Church—possibly on the Jacobean principle of "no bishop, no king." The experiment was made at Jerusalem, as it was desired to find there a *locus standi* for Protestant

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action, such as Russia had through the Greek Church and France through the Roman. The Prussian Ambassador at Rome, Mr Bunsen, and the Archbishop of Canterbury concerted together to take measures for consecrating a Bishop. An Act of Parliament was passed providing for the consecration of Bishops in foreign countries, and giving them jurisdiction over "the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England, Ireland, and *over such other Protestant congregations* as may be desirous of placing themselves under his or their authority."

We pause to beg the reader to mark and cherish these pregnant words. Ritualists constantly affirm that the Church of England is not Protestant and has not the word in her formularies. But here we have Parliament and the Sovereign, whose joint authority is binding on every loyal citizen, solemnly declaring that the Church of England is one of various other Protestant congregations.

To Newman, this blow was almost final. The Church had finally and formally been identified with Protestantism, and he was not a Protestant. He wrote and published a "solemn protest": in it, he denounced Lutheranism and Calvinism as "heresies," and declared that a measure which identified us with them, removed our Church from her present ground and tended to her disorganisation. But the protest was of none effect and the scheme was consummated.

From this period, he tells us, he was on his death-bed as regarded his membership of the Anglican Church.

He took now a very low view of her; he felt that he

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was going: yet he dreaded the unsettlement of many, and feared the unknown bourne to which he saw he was drifting. He gave himself many reasons for remaining. He could not go to Rome, he said, while she gave honours to the Virgin and the Saints which were due to God alone. The Church of England was like the Ten Tribes—they were in manifest schism, yet the messengers of God were sent to them: they were not entirely excluded from grace. And he and his followers might be like the Canaanitish woman, excluded from the banquet of the children, yet allowed to pick up from beneath the table the crumbs which the dogs did eat.

It all would not do: he was ever moving, and he knew it. In May, 1843, he wrote to Keble:—"At present I fear, as far as I can analyse my own convictions, I consider the Roman Catholic Communion to be the Church of the Apostles, and that what grace is among us (which, through God's mercy, is not little) is extraordinary, and from the overflowings of His dispensation. I am very far more sure that England is in schism, than that the Roman additions to the Primitive Creed may not be developments, arising out of a keen and vivid realising of the Divine Deposition of faith." With these growing convictions, he felt that he could not retain St Mary's; the position was "a cruelty as well as treachery towards the Church."

The resignation of his living was precipitated by the secession to Rome of an inmate of his home at Littlemore. He felt that this had compromised him too deeply to allow him to remain, and on the 7th of September, 1843, he went to the Bishop, and gave up the University church.

CHAPTER XI

THE PASSING OF NEWMAN—*continued*

LITTLEMORE is a quiet village a mile or so from Oxford, within sight of her towers and spires. At this time, the living was attached to that of St Mary's, and Newman frequently retired there, to be more out of the way of men. He had for some time contemplated a permanent residence in such a retreat. He had a wish to give himself up to a life of strict religious regularity: to spend time in prayer and mortification: to detach himself more entirely from the world. He took a few cottages there, and made them into a dwelling for himself and for some others who sought a similar retirement. Thereto came young men whose Protestant orthodoxy was suspected by their Colleges, and whose testimonials for Orders had been refused; thereto came young clergymen whose minds had been invaded by a doubt similar to his own, and who had consequently felt unable to go on with their parochial duties. These men, Newman tells us, he endeavoured to quiet and to restrain from joining the Church of Rome.

They lived a life of great regularity and great mechanical devotion. No doubt, however misguided, they were holy men and their one desire was

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to live a holy life. They kept the Canonical House of the Church—services composed of psalms, antiphons, and short prayers, translated from the Roman liturgy. They would rise at half-past five, and at six go to the service of Matins: which, with two others called Laud and Prime, would occupy them till about half-past seven. They would then retire to their rooms and pass the time in meditation and prayer. At nine, another service would follow, and then at eleven, there would probably be a service in Littlemore church: if it was Sunday or a Holy Day, the Communion would be celebrated. Not until this was over, on a Communion day, would they eat their breakfast: for they considered the rule of fasting Communion binding on the Church of England. Then there would be the recreation of a walk in the garden and converse: at three, a service in the church, and then in the chapel of their dwelling, another service called Nones. Then there would be dinner and conversation: and the day was concluded with two more services—Vespers at eight and Compline at nine.

During their recreation in the garden, and their after-dinner converse, the topics discussed were purely ecclesiastical. They debated such important matters as whether Dionysius was a late or early writer: whether the sermons of St Methodius were genuine or not. With all this devotion, it could not but be that an air of unreality, of playing at religion, would creep in. For example, they were men of fair means and independent property: but they amused themselves by playing at ecclesiastical poverty. In Roman monastic establishments, all property is given up, the scale of diet is very

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limited, and persons outside, who are called "benefactors," occasionally send some additional food to the table. Accordingly, we have one of the inmates of the Littlemore establishment solemnly recording in his diary concerning their dinner, "Some unknown benefactor sent a goose." We may fear that, for some at least, the result was a cannibal feast.

The suspicion got abroad in Oxford that Newman was founding an actual monastery. Dons and undergraduates took their afternoon walks in the direction of Littlemore, and sometimes, in defiance of good taste, made their way inside the premises. The rumour reached the ear of Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, that a monastery, with cells and dormitories, was in course of erection, and seriously worried the worthy man. He wrote to Newman on the subject. "As I have understood that you are really possessed of some tenements at Littlemore," he said, "and as it is generally believed that they are destined for the purposes of study and devotion, and as much suspicion and jealousy are felt about the matter, I am anxious to afford you an opportunity of making me an explanation on the subject."

Newman was extremely worried by all this interference. "Why will you not let me die in peace?" was his language. "Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in and no one grudges it to them." To the Bishop he complained that for a year he had been the subject of incessant misrepresentation: and asked what he had done that he should be called to account for his private actions in a way that was done to nobody else? And he absolutely denied that he was reviving monastic orders or founding a monastic establishment of any kind.

The Passing of Newman—continued

All this time, the Romeward process was going on in his mind. He now began to feel it his duty to make it known to his friends. Poor Dr Pusey would not take any hints he gave on the subject. He now himself only hesitated from one consideration—he could not be quite certain that he was right: and he feared that if he became a Roman Catholic, he might want to change again. In November, 1844, he wrote to a friend, "My one paramount reason for contemplating a change is my deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism, and that my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome." In March of the next year, he wrote, "My own convictions are as strong as I suppose they can become: only it is so difficult to know whether it is a case of reason or of conscience." And he justified waiting still, because people were looking to him for guidance and he dreaded shocking and unsettling their minds.

It was obvious that this period of hesitancy could not last for ever. Men must work in the world, and we cannot work without a working hypothesis. His great difficulty, as we have seen, lay in the consideration that modern Roman doctrine is so unlike the doctrine of the Primitive Church. He accordingly resolved to write an *Essay on Development*, and if his convictions then remained unaltered, to take the decisive step.

This remarkable work anticipated, in another line, the Darwinian theory. He applied the doctrine of Evolution to religion. He contends that the Church of the nineteenth century was to develop, pruning but enlarging the type, as the man develops from the child: or, as mankind has developed from

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the primeval forms of jelly-fish floating in the sea. He urges that such growth and development assimilates foreign material, even as we assimilate food and make it part of our own material progress. By this principle he justifies the grafting of Pagan thought and ceremonial on to Christianity. He calls the process the turning of sacraments of evil into sacraments of good. Unquestionably, such doctrines as Baptismal Regeneration and the worship of numerous dead saints: such practices as the offering of incense and the burning of lights: come from Pagan sources: but to Newman's mind that was no more a subject of reproach than that the growth of my body comes from vegetables and animals and bread—foreign substances which it takes into it. From this point of view, it is no reproach at all to the Roman system to say that her doctrines are not found in the New Testament. You might as well argue that a man is not the legitimate development of a child, because the child had not a moustache.

Day by day, Newman stood at his desk, writing his book, developing theories and theories, till, we are told, he was almost a shadow. But before the book was completed—it was never completed—the final conviction had come. Newman threw down his pen and decided that he need go on no further: the time had come for him to be received into the Church of Rome.

Father Dominic, a Passionist, was residing at Aston Hall, and was sent for to Littlemore. It was the 8th of October, 1845. The autumn had come in stormy guise that year. The October blasts were out, the rain was falling dismally, and leaves prematurely sere were beginning to lie thick on the

The Passing of Newman—continued

ground. It was not one of those mild seasons when the year dies gradually, and the hectic flush in copse and coppice has more of a deceptive appearance of health—like the flush on a consumptive patient's cheek—than the sad appearance of decay. No, this year the season of death had come in its true colours. The elements, logical in their boisterousness, seemed to testify that a logical deed was about to be done. Father Dominic arrived, dripping from the storm, at Littlemore in the early dusk: and as he entered the house, Newman, losing his habitual self-control in this great crisis of his life, flung himself upon his knees, and begged the Father to receive him into what he termed "the one Fold of Christ." The night was spent in prayer, and in the morning, Newman made his abjuration and profession of Faith, and passed from the sham Romanism to the real.

CHAPTER XII

AFTERWARDS

LOGIC had triumphed: Reason had had her way: Newman was gone.

It was an event to make any man with a logical mind rejoice. Logic and Reason do not say that the Roman Church is the proper outcome of Christianity: on the contrary: they say, the Roman developments of Christianity are the developments of degeneration and decay. A broadening and brightening Protestantism is the sane and healthy development of primitive Christianity. But Logic and Reason *do* say: "If you take the Catholic position, take it firmly. If you want Catholic doctrines, don't pick and choose: take them all." This is what Newman had done: he had carried his theories to a logical conclusion.

The High Church Party reeled under the blow. The world knew now, and would always know, what High Churchism really meant.

"It is very mysterious, very bewildering indeed," poor Keble wrote to him. That was an exact portrayal of his position. Poor Keble was in a state of bewilderment. He was an excellent man: he could write beautiful poetry: but he could not reason.

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When a rational thing happened, he was simply bewildered: to him—as to his successors in the Anglican Church—the natural course was to do an irrational thing. But he could put the matter in very pretty language, and he ended his letter to Newman by saying that he had a feeling as if the Spring had been taken out of his year.

Pusey was silent for some days, and then unbosomed himself in the columns of the *English Churchman* in a letter to an imaginary friend. He still trotted out his little fad, that the "Church" consisted of a number of warring elements, and that division meant unity. "He seems to me not so much gone from us as transplanted into another part of the Vineyard," he wrote—shutting his eyes to the fact that the "Vineyard" regarded his little plot as unconsecrated ground.

Keble and Pusey sought grounds for justifying men in remaining in the Anglican fold while holding doctrines uncongenial to her system. Pusey busied himself mainly in correspondence, confirming his adherents, and holding waverers back. The line he took against Rome was, that the authority of the Pope was of human, and not of Divine institution: that there were many and grave corruptions in the Church in the Middle Ages: that in the Church of England we have the Apostolic Succession, and therefore the sacraments, and consequently "we have all things necessary to our salvation." This last, as we saw at the beginning of this work, is very doubtful ground. Pusey, evidently, had not made a careful historical research into the question. If our salvation really depends—as we Protestants hold that it does *not*—on the reception

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of valid sacraments celebrated by clergy in direct line of succession from the Apostles, then we should be very rash to risk that salvation by remaining in the Church of England, as the evidence goes to show that most probably the succession broke down with us at the time of the Reformation.

Pusey was on firmer ground when he pointed out serious abuses in the Church of Rome which should prevent us from joining her. The main instance was, and is, the position assigned to the Virgin Mary in that system. She is practically made equal to her Son: adoration is given to her, and salvation ascribed to her. St Bonaventure compiled a Psalter, still in use, in which he everywhere changes the word "Lord" into "Lady," and we consequently find such expressions in it as "O come let us sing unto our Lady: let us rejoice in the Virgin *our Saviour*." "In thee, O Lady, have I hoped: let me never be put to confusion." And we find the late Pope Leo XIII. saying, "My hope in Mary, my mighty and kind mother, grows wider day by day."

I fail to see how the doctrine of evolution can be applied to such a process as this, nor how it can be described as a legitimate development of primitive Christianity. It practically amounts to dethroning the Saviour, and putting a creature in His place. Surely development must proceed on legitimate lines, not varying absolutely from the primitive type. The original belief of the Church was: "There is one mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." Can it be called a development of this doctrine to say, "There is more than one Mediator?"

Pusey, therefore, had solid reasons for appealing

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to waverers to hesitate before they joined a system which had so changed primitive Christianity. No doubt he spoke truly when he declared, in a letter written in March, 1846, that he could not join in the Roman Catholic language addressed to the Virgin Mary, and that he could not couple together the Virgin and her Divine Son as co-equal, as the Roman Books of devotion did and do.

As Newman was full of zeal for the Church he had joined, and as he had come to regard the Protestant Establishment as being no Church at all: and as Pusey, perhaps from a certain obstinacy, engendered by the position he was obliged to take up, became keener and keener in his vindication of the Anglican system: it was natural, almost inevitable, that the intimacy between the old friends should dwindle and decay.

For two months after Newman's change, they did not meet at all. Then Newman called on Pusey at his rooms in the fair quadrangle of Christ Church, and again in February of the next year, they met: but there were constraints, pains, hesitancies, and it was clear that the old days of unclouded friendship were dead. Newman soon had to leave his quiet home at Littlemore, and depart into a new world: he was placed by Cardinal Wiseman at Oscott, and then went to Rome, a humble neophyte, to study for the priesthood in the Roman Church: finally, he settled at the Edgbaston Oratory, near Birmingham, where he ended his days. For years the old friends never met at all: and even their correspondence became colder and more constrained, and finally ceased.

For a time, Newman hoped that Pusey would also

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follow the dictates of reason, and leave a Church in which Catholic theology had no real home. But in July of 1846, a letter from Pusey finally undeceived him: he was determined to make no change. He could not believe, he said, that the claims of Rome were Divine. He could not believe that the Church of England was no part of the true Church. And here peeped out, unconsciously to the writer, that little note of self-assertion, of vanity, which keeps so many Ritualists where they are—they cannot acknowledge that their life has been a mistake, their position an illogical one, their claims unfounded: and so, in spite of secret misgivings, they stay. Many of them are violating their own convictions in doing so. We cannot suppose this was consciously the case with Pusey. Heredity, life-long habits, and a certain ignorance of history and logic continued to distort his judgment. Newman had gone where reason called him: but Pusey remained to undo the work of the Reformation, and to try to make the Church of England forget the rock from which she was hewn, and the hole of the pit whence she was digged: and so the seas of separation rolled between them.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON THE TWO SACRAMENTS

INCIDENTALLY, the High Church Movement brought out more or less what is the mind of the Church of England as to the meaning of the two Sacraments. The language of the formularies is, we have to admit, ambiguous. Nor can any clear statement of doctrine be deduced from formularies hundreds of years old: human language varies: what means one thing in one century may mean something quite different in another. For example, to take a single case, the word "quick" has not the sense of "living," as it had when the Prayer-book was drawn up. Therefore, formularies, the written letter, leave us largely in the dark: we want some living voice to declare to us what the Church in reality means.

We have not in the Church of England a living voice in the sense that the Church of Rome has it. When any disputed point occurs, she speaks definitely and decidedly by Pope or Council. The Church of England is not able to do so. But she has certain voices, which at all events furnish us with a guide as to what her mind is. In the first half of the last century, when the Universities were purely Anglican

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institutions: when their life and teaching were bound up with the Church, and no one could be a member of them without declaring his assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles: then, certainly, the Universities might be said to be the living voice of the Church of England, so far as she had one. And in the earlier days of the Oxford Movement, the University of Oxford declared definitely the mind of the Church of England as to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and the doctrine it involved.

We must retrace our steps for a few moments to go into this matter.

On May 14th, 1843, Dr Pusey preached before the University, in Christ Church Cathedral, a sermon entitled "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent." This discourse, in the words of the preacher, implied "the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence"; it inculcated "the love of the Redeemer to us sinners in the Holy Eucharist, both as a Sacrament and as a commemorative Sacrifice." He disclaimed any belief in the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, but declared "that in the Communion there are not only the elements of bread and wine, but also present the very Body and Blood of Christ." This was not language which members of the Church of England had been accustomed to hear. The Vice-Chancellor went away from the Cathedral perplexed and dissatisfied. A day or two later, the Margaret Professor of Divinity—the holder of one of the most important theological positions in the University—complained of the sermon on behalf of himself and others, as containing doctrine not in accordance with that of the Church. The Vice-Chancellor sent for a copy

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of the sermon, and prepared the Statutory Court to consider it—a Court consisting of himself and six other Doctors of Divinity.

The Court met on the 24th of May, and adjourned for further consideration of the sermon. Finally, by an almost unanimous decision—only one dissenting—they condemned it: and the Vice-Chancellor pronounced that Dr Pusey had preached certain things which were contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. Some time was then spent in considering what sentence should be pronounced. An effort was made to get the preacher to recant, and a considerable amount of verbal quibbling ensued. Dr. Pusey was got to say that he did not mean that Christ's Body was present *physically* in the Sacrament, but only in a *spiritual* and sacramental way. Was this the doctrine of the Church of England? The Court, as her mouthpiece, did not so decide.

Accordingly, on the 2nd of June, it suspended Dr Pusey for two years from preaching within the precincts of the University. The Church of England had therefore, so far as she could, repudiated the doctrine of any Real Presence in the Eucharist.

At a later period, we have to confess, the voice of the Church of England gave a more uncertain sound.

One of the most prominent of the lesser lights of the Oxford Movement was Mr Bennett of Frome. This is the name by which he is best remembered, through his long tenancy of the Vicarage of the little West country town: but he gained his notoriety as Vicar of St Barnabas, Pimlico: a church to whose identification with the Oxford Movement we shall have, in the course of this history, to return. There

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he began his Ritualistic innovations: there he began his daily services, to the great annoyance of the quiet residents in the neighbourhood, whose grievances were most humorously voiced in *Punch's* parody of the nursery rhyme of the young lady of Banbury Cross:

"Come in a 'bus
To Chelsea with us
To see Mr Bennett, who's making this fuss:
With bells at day's breaking,
And bells at its close,
He's a regular nuisance wherever he goes."

So serious a nuisance, indeed, did Mr Bennett become in Pimlico, that he was induced to go to Frome, in Somersetshire: where he entirely spoiled the interior of the parish church, and introduced a full-fledged Roman ceremonial.

His advanced Sacramental doctrine became the object of legal proceedings. He used language on the Real Presence, the Sacrifice, and the Adoration of the supposed Presence, which was taken to be inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England. The suit came first before the Court of Arches, which decided in Mr Bennett's favour and accredited his doctrines: but this was then a mere Ecclesiastical Court, and had no real weight. The case was brought before the really authoritative tribunal of the Church of England, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and this body delivered its judgment on the 8th of June, 1872.

Mr Bennett, having modified his language, was acquitted of heresy. He denied any corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and was allowed to hold a presence only "spiritual," "supernatural,"

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"mystical," "ineffable." He was not allowed to hold that there is a real and actual sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, but he was allowed to use the *word*, provided that he only meant by it a rite which "calls to remembrance and represents before God the one true sacrifice." He was acquitted of having impugned the doctrines of the Church in teaching that adoration is due to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, on the ground that when he wrote as he did, the judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, which forbids adoration, had not been delivered. It of course follows, that no loyal member of the Church of England can now offer inward or outward adoration to any supposed Presence of Christ: it is contrary to law, and he unchurches himself by doing so.

Even then, though he was acquitted for the sake of peace, to preserve a compromise, Mr Bennett only escaped by the skin of his teeth. They said that they acquitted on the charge of adoration, only because it was not made out so clearly as the rules which govern penal proceedings require. They declared that his first doctrinal statements were "manifest error." And they put it on record that even the words which they had allowed to pass were "rash and ill-judged, and perilously near a violation of the law."

The acquittal of Mr Bennett was not entirely satisfactory to Protestants. But what was, and always will be, satisfactory is, that this Court, which is now the only living voice of the Church of England, laid down definitely on certain points what her Eucharistic doctrine is, and what her members are bound to believe and her ministers to teach.

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1. It decided that she does not require her ministers to accept any Presence in the Sacrament which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receivers merely.

2. It decided that she does not teach or affirm the doctrine that the Communion Table is an altar of sacrifice, at which the "priest" appears in a Sacerdotal position.

3. It decided that in the Holy Communion there is no sacrifice or offering of Christ which is efficacious in the sense in which Christ's death is efficacious.

4. It decided that no adoration may be rendered to the consecrated elements.

With these decisions before us, we can have no hesitation in re-affirming our thesis that modern Ritualism is treason against the Church of England.

With regard to what is of faith concerning the other Sacrament, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Living Voice of the Church of England has, happily, spoken with no uncertain voice.

The Bishop of the diocese of Exeter from 1830 to 1869 was a furious and intolerant bigot named Phillpotts. He distinguished himself by initiating the policy of sending clergymen to prison for their opinions. The Rev. James Shore, incumbent of Bridgetown Chapel, was obnoxious to the Bishop on account of his Protestant opinions. On a voidance in the Mother Church, the Bishop seized the opportunity of revoking his licence. Mr Shore, by permission of the owner of the chapel, the Duke of Somerset, continued his ministrations there apart from the Church of England. This was a technical offence, and Phillpotts at once set the law in motion against him. Mr Shore had no private resources:

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he lost his case and was mulcted in costs: he was unable to pay them, whereupon Phillpotts had him seized and thrown into Exeter gaol, where he lay until the generosity of his friends released him.

Such was the man who providentially became the instrument, against his own will, for the definition of the Church of England doctrine of Baptism.

In August, 1847, the Rev. George Gorham was presented by the Crown to the living of Brampford Speke. The Bishop examined him, having a suspicion that he was not a High Churchman, and decided that he was unsound on the doctrine of Baptism, because he held that therein children are not made members of Christ and the children of God. Mr Gorham appealed to the Court of Arches, and was condemned by it. He then carried his case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

A minute and careful judgment was delivered on the 8th of March, 1850. Not only was Mr Gorham acquitted; not only was it decided that no clergyman of the Church of England need hold or teach the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration: but those strong passages in the Baptismal service, about "seeing that this child is now regenerate," etc., which had caused pain and perplexity to many Protestants, were amply explained. Their lordships showed that only those parts of the Prayer-book which are strictly dogmatical must be considered declaratory of doctrine: but *devotional* expressions, though they contain assertions, must not be taken to bear an absolute and unconditional sense. The services, they declared, abound with expressions which must be taken in a qualified sense: and

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so, particularly, the expressions in the Baptismal service do not imply that grace is necessarily tied down to this rite, but that it ought only to be earnestly prayed for, in order that it may then, *or when God pleases*, be present to make the rite beneficial.

Mr Gorham therefore won his case, and his doctrine was sanctioned as being that of the Church of England. We give that doctrine in his own words, that we may remember what the real Anglican doctrine of Baptism is: "The child may receive, and must receive, an act of grace before he receive the sacrament to good effect, but that is an act of grace not conferred in or by baptism, though it may take place before baptism, at baptism, or after baptism."

The doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is not, then, the doctrine of the Church of England.

This was a terrible blow to the High Churchmen. It was the explosion of a bombshell in their camp. They had begun the game of persecution: they had marshalled their forces to drive Protestantism out of the Establishment: and now they had met this Sadowa, this Paardeberg, and were for ever discomfited. They blustered, they drew up declarations, they circulated protests. Poor Phillpotts was completely nonplussed. Obstinate and disloyal, he still would not institute Mr Gorham to the living of Brampford Speke: but the Dean of Arches did it on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Phillpotts published a violent letter to the latter, declaring him to be a favourer and supporter of Mr Gorham's "heresies," and declared that he would not and could not "hold communion with him, be he who he

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may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears."

But it was all in vain: the decision had been pronounced: the Church of England was committed for ever to the position that Baptismal Regeneration is no necessary part of her creed.

CHAPTER XIV

PUSEY AND THE BISHOP AND THEIR FRIENDS

WE have seen how the Church of England had spoken her mind concerning the innovation by such Living Voices as she had. The voices of the Bishops of the period had not been less clear. We are not attaching an over-estimated importance to such utterances. We are fully aware that Episcopal utterances are—at least in the present day—dictated largely by convenience and by a desire to shout with the larger mob. A Bishop is appointed in our Communion, not because he is a conscientious man, or even a gifted man, but because he has proved himself a “safe” man: a man who through a consistent career has trimmed his sails to catch the popular breeze, and is therefore not likely to do anything which will violently offend public opinion. None of the Apostles, for example, were any of them now on earth, would have the smallest chance of obtaining an Anglican Bishopric. For they were men who were simply guided by the voice of conscience: they were men who were prepared to defy conventionality: they were men who were ever prepared to put themselves into an attitude of antagonism to the constituted authorities, did they deem it their duty so to

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do. They would therefore have been looked on with suspicion, and relegated, if possible, to obscurity.

Still, in the beginning of the Tractarian Movement, we may fairly regard the Bishops of the day as to a large degree representative of the mind of the Church. They voiced the traditions of three centuries: the ideas, the conventions, the prejudice, if you will, of those three hundred years of Church life were embodied in them: they were the successors of the Reformers, the Caroline Divines, and the thought of the Georgian age: and all those things which make up real Anglicanism were centred in the Victorian Bishops when they spoke. If then they, almost to a man, were in antagonism to the High Church Movement, that is another proof that Puseyism is no true and genuine product of the Church of England.

Shortly after the secession of Newman, Samuel Wilberforce was appointed Bishop of Oxford. This prelate is known to history as "Soapy Sam." He was a courtier and a man of the world: he was a fellow of exquisite wit: he was pure and holy in his life—and he was conventional. Certainly, we may say that moderate Anglicanism and popular opinions spoke clearly through Samuel Wilberforce.

His opinion of Pusey, and, therefore, of the Puseyite Movement, had been formed and clearly expressed before his consecration. He considered him, as he writes in a letter dated November 9th, 1845, "most dark as to many parts of Christ's blessed Gospel." He held that he was "helping to make a party of semi-Romanisers in the Church." And he considered him, though a good man, to be "utterly sophistical, false," for sharing the view of

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Tract XC on the Articles and refusing to censure Roman doctrine, "whilst he holds his Canonry at Christ Church, and his position among *us*, on condition of signing Articles, one-half of which are taken up in declaring different figments of Rome to be dangerous deceits and blasphemous fables." It is easy to imagine what Wilberforce would have said of the modern Ritualist, who openly celebrates Mass, and teaches children to invoke the Virgin Mary as their Mediator.

On the 15th November, 1845, the Chapter of Christ Church went through the blasphemous farce of electing Wilberforce to the See of Oxford, and invoking the Holy Spirit to guide them in a choice which had already been inevitably made for them by the Prime Minister of the day. Pusey, who seems to have begun by now to regard himself as a kind of Pope or General Overseer of the Church of England, sent him a patronising letter. He warned the Bishop that his new post required supernatural gifts, and advised him to let his frame of mind be mistrust of self and full trust in God. And to let him know that he, the writer, had much influence over, and was capable of guiding, young persons who might have been disturbed by the secession of Newman to Rome. Such a letter, of course, was enough to make a dignified official of the Church of England stand upon his dignity, and he wrote back declining to correspond on the subject, and telling Pusey plainly that his language could not be reconciled with the doctrinal formularies of the Reformed Church. But Pusey had the characteristic love of High Churchmen for voluminous letter-writing. He bombarded the unfortunate Bishop

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in return with a tremendous epistle: he declared that whatever he received he received on the authority of the "Ancient Church" and did not explain why, while he was about it, he did not receive a few more things, such as Papal Supremacy, nor by what guidance he was enabled to pick and choose such doctrines as happened to suit him. And he solemnly informed his correspondent that he held the doctrine of a Purgatory on account of a "vision" contained in the Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. By parity of reasoning, he might have held the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church on the authority of the "visions" of Count Swendenborg.

The new Bishop replied to his effusion with decided firmness, though with perfect courtesy. He told Dr Pusey plainly that he should use his own judgment and not anyone else's. He denounced the Tractarian Party as being led away from God instead of to Him. He declared that he saw in Pusey himself "too many traces of this evil," and of "a subtle and therefore most dangerous form of self-will." The "alleged vision" he dismissed with unsparing contempt. And he urged his correspondent to be on the watch against party spirit and self-dependence, and with this rebuke the matter, for the time being, rested.

The time of Pusey's suspension from the University pulpit for teaching the heresy that Christ is really present in the Blessed Sacrament had now expired. There had been some suggestions made that he should preach the condemned sermon over again; but it was felt that this would be too violent a defiance of public opinion, and would lead to unpleasant consequences. He therefore chose another subject, which would be equally disagreeable to the Evangeli-

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cals, but which, owing to the unhappily ambiguous language of some of our formularies, would not lie open to prosecution. This was the doctrine of Confession and Absolution: or, as he entitled it, "The entire Absolution of the Penitent." It cannot be denied that our Church contains a form of Absolution: but it must be remembered: (1) that such a proceeding is only allowed in extreme and urgent cases: (2) that it is clear that our Reformers attached no value or power whatever to the words of Absolution pronounced by the minister, as a prayer for the forgiveness of the penitent immediately follows it. However, the *words* are there, and may be used by the dishonest in the sense in which Pusey used them.

The rumour of what his subject was to be spread through Oxford. Mr Golightly, a well-known Evangelical clergyman, voiced the alarm of the Evangelicals, and wrote to the Vice-Chancellor suggesting that Pusey should be required to sign the 22nd Article before he was allowed to preach. This came to the knowledge of Pusey, and caused him considerable embarrassment: for, of course, no High Churchman can sign the Articles in a straightforward and literal sense. He wrote to the Rev. J. B. Mozley, and told him that if he had to sign the Articles, it must be with a non-natural meaning read into them. Mozley wrote back advising him to append no "explanation" to his signature—that is, to practise the Catholic virtue of deception and keep the "explanation" hidden in his own heart. However, the Vice-Chancellor was so convinced that Pusey would be ready with some dishonest evasion, that he considered his signature to the Articles absolutely worthless; so Mr Golightly's suggestion fell to the ground.

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All these currents of opinion led Pusey to hesitate about preaching his sermon, and he consulted Keble on the matter. Keble's advice in reply was most characteristic of the High Church tone of mind. He suggested that Pusey should take two sermons with him into the pulpit, a perfectly colourless one, and the one on Absolution as well: and he should be guided as to which he should preach by the tone of the audience and the probable consequences that would follow. Truly, the "wisdom of the serpent" was a guiding star of the Tractarian Movement!

The 1st of February, 1846, came: the omens did not seem unfavourable; and Pusey preached the sermon on Absolution. It was a long and dreary performance: it was founded on a misinterpretation of our Lord's words, "Whosoever's sins ye remit they are remitted unto them" (which refers really to the falling off of the burden of sin under the preaching of converted ministers), and it duly twisted the Anglican formularies into a sense which the compilers never intended. However, the authorities thought it better to have no more trouble, and Pusey was left alone. He had been prepared, however, for another prosecution before the Vice-Chancellor, and by his action he had shown clearly that he was aware that in preaching Priestly Absolution he had been preaching heresy. For, in case the Vice-Chancellor should demand to see the sermon, *he had sent it out of Oxford by post immediately after preaching it*, so that it might be out of the way of condemnation.

How often did these "wicked servants" of the Tractarian Movement condemn themselves out of their own mouths!

CHAPTER XV

ST SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS

THE consecration of the church of St Saviour's, Leeds, was another significant development of the meaning of the High Church Movement.

Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, was an old-fashioned High Churchman and Tory of a peculiarly bigoted and repulsive type. He was narrow in intellect and disagreeable in temper. He was one of those objectionable and illogical people who have prejudices which they term convictions, and who believe that that vast and complex thing, the truth, has been fully grasped by their own little minds. Everybody except himself was, to Hook, hopelessly wrong. His conception of God was that of an African savage: his Deity was confined to one section of the Anglican Church, and was to be found nowhere else. The final revisers of the Prayer-book in 1662 were to him absolutely infallible. Divine guidance had changed the wording of certain prayers, and altered a few minor festivals, and then had done its work and left the earth for ever. The Low Church Party was hopelessly wrong. The Protestant Dissenters were hopelessly wrong. Rome was hopelessly wrong. Only Hook was right. And for him to be in error was impossible.

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It is amusing to watch the terror and disgust of a narrow fanatic like this at any new development, and the history of St Saviour's, Leeds, afforded such amusement abundantly.

It was built mainly at the expense of Pusey, as an act of penitence, in a poor district of Leeds. There was a moderate High Church service there from the first: weekly communion: and in addition to the services of the Prayer-book, the clergy kept the canonical Hours of Rome. On All Saints' Day, 1846, one of the clergy preached a sermon on the Intercession of the Saints. This naturally threw the fat into the fire: Hook was alarmed, and a long list of complaints was sent to the Bishop of Ripon. Hook began to use violent language about St Saviour's—language which, from an Evangelical, would have been rational and justifiable, but which from a High Churchman was merely ridiculous. He was, in fact, quarrelling about the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. "I cannot permit light and darkness, bitter and sweet, to be confounded," he wrote. The Vicar of St Saviour's, Mr Ward, had expressed his opinion that the Church of England was not perfect. "He is to me a heretic," Hook declared. He delivered a lecture to his parishioners on the "Via Media," in which he aired his fad that no one was right but himself. Mr Ward was present and expressed his opposition to Hook's views, and then the Vicar of Leeds was indeed beside himself with indignation. He wrote to Pusey denouncing him for sending people to Leeds to oppose his teaching. "I believe you to be under the influence of Jesuits," he wrote, and concluded his letter by saying, "You must not wonder at my

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not signing myself yours affectionately," as they used to do.

Of course Hook was absolutely blind to the fact that his own High Churchism had prepared the way for Puseyism, just as truly as Puseyism was paving the way for Rome. If he was angry, he should have been angry with himself.

The Roman goal was soon reached. The curates of St Saviour's seceded. "You are aware," wrote Hook to Pusey, "that Macmullin and his dupes have gone over to the Mother of Abominations, guilty of the deadly sins of heresy and schism. . . . I must take steps to denounce you and your followers as being in my opinion heretics." Of course to Hook, the word "heresy" had the meaning it has to so many—it meant the opinion or opinions from which the person who used the word happened himself to differ. Hook believed in the absolute necessity of belonging to a Visible Church with Apostolic Succession. The curate of St Saviour's had gone over to the Visible Church where Apostolic Succession was certain, and so it was folly for him to complain. He believed, with all High Churchmen, that two and two made three. He was bitterly piqued when others acted on the theory that two and two make four.

The upshot was that Mr Ward was induced to resign, and for a year or two there was a succession of Vicars and a period of comparative quiet. This was succeeded by another disturbance, which was at least of some value as showing the mind of the Church of England on the subject of Confession.

In the matter, the Vicar of Leeds again displayed his extraordinary lack of the sense of proportion:

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his muddle-headedness as to trifling distinctions. He believed in Confession in his own way: if it was taught in a way that was not his own, he at once became furious. It was all right if Confession was taught as "a means of comfort." It was all wrong if it was taught as "a means of grace." And for the splitting of this hair, Hook was ready to fight to the death.

The Bishop of Ripon stated the view of the Church of England in the matter. He pointed out that the Church of England practises no Confession generally, and allows it at all only in two extreme cases—those of persons who cannot quiet their own consciences before the reception of Holy Communion, and of persons who require a declaratory form of absolution to be pronounced over them when dying. Everything beyond this—the system of confessional boxes, constant confessions before communicating, which prevails nowadays—is entirely foreign to the mind of the Church. And the Bishop insisted that Confession should only be allowed in the two cases named at St Saviour's, and the clergy had to obey. It would be well if Bishops of modern times were as faithful to their consecration vows. The events of 1847-51 anyhow show that they have the power if they like to exercise it: it is the will that is wanting.

In that event, most of the clergy connected with St Saviour's found their proper places in the Church of Rome, and matters quieted down. But Pusey and Hook manfully remained firmly entrenched behind the fortress of illogicality and unreason to the very end of the chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION

THE advance of Puseyism emboldened the Roman Catholic Church to take the decisive step of restoring her territorial episcopate, which had been in abeyance since the Reformation.

From the end of the reign of Elizabeth to the end of the reign of James, the remnant of Roman Catholics had been under the government of arch priests. From 1628 to 1850 they were superintended by bishops *in partibus*, under the name of Vicars Apostolic. Early in the nineteenth century a movement began among Roman Catholic clergy and laymen for the restoration of the episcopate. A brotherhood was formed in 1843 for the promotion of the object. At the annual meeting of the Vicars Apostolic in 1845, a petition to the Pope for the purpose was drawn up and forwarded to Rome. Pius IX. gave the matter his favourable attention, but the conclusion of the matter was delayed by the revolution which broke out in Rome, as in so many other places, in the great year of unrest, 1848. For two years nearly the Pope was a fugitive and the Cardinals were dispersed. By the summer of 1850, "order" was restored, and liberty crushed: and the Pope issued the famous Bull which restored the hierarchy.

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Of course the Roman Catholics were full of joy at the fruition of their long desires. Cardinal Wiseman, who had been Vicar Apostolic of the London District, was appointed Archbishop of Westminster. He issued a pastoral letter to the English people, which was read in all the Roman Catholic churches in England, and which, in inflated language which betrayed the Italian education of the writer, declared that "Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished: and begins now anew its course of regularly-adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour."

Newman voiced the feeling of his co-religionists in language of a very different kind. He uttered, in celebration of the event, one of the finest passages of pulpit oratory which the century had heard. "A second temple," he said, "rises on the ruins of the old. Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We cling to the vision of past greatness and would not believe it could come to naught: but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost: and Saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and Doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and Preachers call to penance and justice, as at the beginning."

But the feeling of Protestant England was very different indeed. The publication of the Bull was followed by a tremendous outburst of public indigna-

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tion. It was, men felt, an unwarrantable insult to the British nation for a foreign potentate to parcel it out into dioceses to be filled by men who owed more allegiance to himself than to their own Sovereign. The memories of the days of persecution were revived: men thought of what Rome did in England when she had the power, and felt that if that power was ever regained by her, our liberties would again be gone and our consciences enslaved. And so from highest to lowest came the voice of indignant protest. The Queen herself, we are assured, expressed to the Prime Minister her anger at the outrage on her Sovereignty. Meetings to denounce the aggression were everywhere held. Addresses to the Queen poured in from town and country. The effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman were burned all over the land. The very theatres resounded with the din of the controversy, and when, in the play of *King John*, the declaration was recited that "No Italian priest shall tithe or toll in our dominion," the whole audience rose to its feet and gave utterance to vociferous applause.

But what most concerns us, in this history, is the declaration concerning treasonable practices in the Church of England which the Papal aggression drew forth from Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister of the day. He addressed, on November 4th, 1850, a letter to the Bishop of Durham, dated from his official residence, in which he characterised the action of the Pope as inconsistent with the Queen's Supremacy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation. He hinted at the need of Parliamentary action to meet the difficulty. And thus he went on to strike at the true root of the evil: to show what it

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was that had enabled and encouraged Romanism to so proudly rear its head—viz., the gradual growth of Roman doctrines in the Protestant Church. "This is a danger," he said, "which alarms me much more than aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's Supremacy, have been most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the very brink of the precipice. The honour paid to Saints, the claim of Infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of Auricular Confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese."

And he went on to point out that the danger of the action of the Pope, the enemy without, was trifling compared to the danger of the action of the traitors within the gates, "the unworthy sons of the Church of England."

Thus voice after voice had sounded forth to condemn the High Church Movement as foreign to the spirit of the Church. Bishops, University, Prime Minister, all had spoken. The "accursed thing" had incurred reprobation on every side. We may well take up the language of a man so clear-headed, so far-sighted, so sagacious: and when we see an officer in our Protestant Church tricked out in the livery of Rome, when we hear him preaching the doctrines the Reformers died to drive out, then we are using the

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language of soberness and truth when we describe him as "an unworthy son of the Church of England."

Parliament met and passed a measure called the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, prohibiting the use by Roman Catholic prelates of titles taken from any territory or place within the United Kingdom. But the measure was never acted on, and in 1871 was quietly repealed. *Punch* characterised accurately the situation when he drew a cartoon representing Lord John Russell chalking up "No Popery" on Wiseman's door, and then running away.

CHAPTER XVII

ST BARNABAS, PIMLICO

THE battle for doctrine was followed by the battle for ritual. The first shots were fired at St Barnabas, Pimlico.

It is not easy to say at what particular church, nor at what particular period the first marked Ritualistic innovations, such as are a commonplace defiance of the law nowadays, were made. Some claim that it was in the Harlow churches that the Romish vestments were first introduced. I believe myself, however—and I have some good authority for saying it—that they were first used in the reformed Church of England at the church of St Thomas, Oxford, on Whitsun Day, 1852.

It was, however, at St Barnabas, Pimlico, that the gradual Romanising of our Protestant services by “unworthy sons of the Church of England” first attracted marked attention.

It is interesting to watch the process by which this Romanising was accomplished: how small things led to greater: for we learn what innovations ought now to be resisted at the very outset, if purity of worship is to be preserved. St Barnabas was a chapel of ease to St Paul's, Knightsbridge, of which the in-

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cumbent was Mr Liddell: a cautious High Churchman, who did not want the daughter church to go too far beyond the mother. But the daughter was a wanton, who desired to flaunt and deck herself in gay trappings, unsuitable to her situation in life, and constant friction was the result.

The practices at St Barnabas which the public condemned, which the Bishop prohibited, and which Mr Liddell fought shy of, were such as these: a cross on the communion table: flowers beside it: various "altar-cloths" to mark various seasons: chanting the *Sanctus* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*: the clergy and choir turning to the East at the *Gloria*: holding the hand up in the air while pronouncing the Benediction, the wearing of cassocks by the vergers, and the taking the Eastward Position at the Holy Communion by the celebrant. These seem trivial things: but the Protestant public, not, perhaps, by a process of ratiocination, but by that true and unerring instinct which often justifies the saying that the voice of the people is the voice of God, felt these silly trifles were intended to be the prelude, the paving the way to serious realities.

The clergy of St Barnabas, headed by the curate-in-charge, Mr Skinner, fought desperately for the retention of them. They and Mr Liddell deluged the post-office with letters. The correspondence is worthy of quotation, for it illustrates the amusing lack of humour which characterised the Ritualistic Movement in its inception as well as in its full development. Mr Skinner defends the use of various coverings for the "altar" in a lengthy paragraph.

"When the poor of St Barnabas," said he, "see a white covering on the altar, they remember that

St Barnabas, Pimlico

they are keeping some great feast connected with our Blessed Lord's life and history. When they see a red covering, they remember that they are commemorating some glorious martyrdom, or keeping a feast of the Holy Ghost. When the covering is green, they are reminded that the season is ordinary: when violet, that it is Lent: when black, that it is a funeral day, or the darkest day in the Church's year. Thus what looks so trivial a direction of the Church's law becomes a great help and remembrancer. We cannot afford to lose any helps to devotion. The most fervent among us are not fervent enough."

One sentence in the paragraph excels, I think, in its unconscious humour, any humorous passage in the English language. Its solemn perusal shakes the reader with inextinguishable laughter. Its intended gravity fills us with the keenest, the deepest contempt for the fools—with the passage before me, I can use no lighter words—who have made the poor Church of England the laughing-stock of the world.

The Incumbent is to be discharged, the Bishop defied, the public incensed—in order that the poor may be "*reminded that the season is ordinary!*"

Worthy object of devotion and warfare! Important lesson to teach the poor of London! Little matter to them their poverty, their struggle to keep the wolf from the door: full compensation to them for all the ills of life: if only their clergy can succeed in reminding them "*that the season is ordinary.*"

These words should be treasured up and kept in the memory of Social Reformers. Mr Skinner, of St Barnabas, Pimlico, and his fellow High Churchmen have really solved the Social Problem. We

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know, with this document before us, that we need not trouble ourselves with such questions as open spaces, playgrounds, public parks, soup kitchens: we need not be dismayed at over-crowding, at sweating, at drunkenness, at Hooliganism: and all those matters which have so seriously occupied our attention. These are trifles. The true solution of the whole matter is, to remind the poor, when it is not a high festival, *that the season is ordinary.*

And this reflection, too, will lighten the labours of our Evangelists. Their perplexities will cease if they will but consider the Ritualistic remedy. How are we to win back the lapsed masses? How are we to bring home to them the Gospel and brighten their lives? By preaching, by missions, by Scripture readers? Nothing of the sort. Ritualism goes to the root of the matter. All we have to do is "*to remind the poor that the season is ordinary!*"

CHAPTER XVIII

ST BARNABAS, PIMLICO, AND ST PAUL'S

THE Oxford Movement had now passed beyond the region of doctrine and entered upon that of ritual. The great Forward Movement of High Churchism had begun. A band of devoted men had resolved to risk all in order to "remind" the poor of London that, between Whitsuntide and Advent, *the season was ordinary*.

No nobler cause, conceivably, could rouse the enthusiasm of serious men.

Skinner was teaching his saving truth to the slums of the West End. Liddell was to join hands with him in the same work at the mother church. Charles F. Lowder went down to the dark regions of Wapping, to the squalid homes in that amphibious region of lane and dock, with the same message in his heart. Bryan King was to proclaim it fearlessly at St George's-in-the-East. Bishops might oppose the work, mobs might even be goaded to frenzy: but nothing moved these men: the poor should know that *the season was ordinary*, or they would perish.

The glad tidings were not, however, welcomed at first with any great degree of enthusiasm by the poor. Riots broke out at St Barnabas, Pimlico, and

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continued during the winter of 1850-51. The working classes are not the idiots or the children that many ecclesiastics imagine them to be. They see through things. And so when the new Evangel of the ordinariness of the season was proclaimed to them, they felt that either their intelligence was being insulted, or they were being made catpaws of. Judas had the poor on his lips, for ulterior purposes, and so had the clergy of St Barnabas, Pimlico. And the poor had a vague sense that it was not solely for their benefit that the parsons decked themselves and their churches in fantastic attire: it was because they loved themselves to play with these toys, and wanted an excuse for this amusement: and because they wished to utilise the name of the poor for their own attempt to unprotestantise the nation, and lord it over the consciences of men. Hence, disturbances were the result.

Nor were the common-sense, hard-headed middle classes more favourable to the Gospel of the Ordinari-ness of the Season, and they resolved to test the point as to whether these innovations were in accordance with the laws of the Reformed Church. Proceedings were taken simultaneously against the mother and daughter churches (whose ceremonial had now practically become assimilated) by Mr Westerton, the Protestant churchwarden of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, and Mr Beal, a parishioner of St Barnabas, Pimlico. The cases were argued first in the Consistory Court, and by a judgment delivered on December 5th, 1855, it was decided that a high altar of wood and a credence table were legal: but stone altars, lighted candles, and coloured altar cloths were contrary to law. This judgment condemning most

St Barnabas, Pimlico, and St Paul's

of the innovations of the Puseyites, the Vicar of St Paul's appealed to the Court of Arches, and then the judgment of the Consistory Court was confirmed.

There remained yet another Court to which an appeal might be carried. But this Court was not spiritual: it was a purely civil Court, and therefore, according to the Puseyite creed, had no jurisdiction in spiritual matters. This Court was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

We know how the Ritualists have thundered against the wickedness, the cruelty, the injustice, of allowing this Court to decide on the ritual of the Church. We know how they have declared themselves ready to suffer anything for conscience sake, and that their consciences would not allow them to obey a temporal tribunal. Rather imprisonment, rather loss of goods, rather Disestablishment and Disendowment, than by obedience to the Privy Council any compromise of the sacred constitutional principle, "The Church of England shall be free!"

And when we look back to the case of *Westerton v. Liddell*, we realise with some amusement, and perhaps more disgust, that all this pother was mere humbug. These martyrs were testifying to a principle in which they did not themselves believe. All they meant was: "It is sinful to obey the Privy Council when it decides against us. When it decides in our favour, it is a spiritual and constitutional Court." For it was they themselves who first invoked its guidance.

Mr Liddell, Vicar of St Paul's, appealed from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The case dragged on a weary length, and judgment was not finally delivered till March

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21st, 1857. Stone altars were again condemned, but credence tables were permitted. The condemnation of coloured cloths was reversed: so the incumbents were still permitted to teach the poor the new Gospel which was to convert London: to remind them that the season was ordinary. The question of lighted candles was left ambiguous.

But the judgment in this case was on one matter of the greatest value. It declared distinctly that in our Church we have no altar and we have no sacrifice: that the Romanist view of the Lord's Supper and the view of the Reformers are diametrically opposed. "By the former, it was considered as a Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Saviour," said the judgment. "The Altar was the place on which the Sacrifice was to be made: the elements were to be consecrated, and being so consecrated were treated as the Body and Blood of the Victim. The Reformers, on the other hand, considered the Holy Communion *not as a sacrifice, but as a feast.*"

Thus the Living Voice of the Church of England, the Judicial Committee, had decided that we have no altars, and therefore no priests, and no sacrifices. And it was the High Church Party who first recognised it, and appealed to it as our Living Voice.

CHAPTER XIX

ST GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST

THE attempt of Mr Bryan King, at St George's-in-the-East, to bring home to the minds of the poor the fact that the season was ordinary, was attended by serious and prolonged disturbances.

The question of how far it is justifiable for the people to take the law into their own hands is a complicated and difficult one. Under ordinary circumstances, doubtless, it is our duty to be "subject to the higher powers." Lawlessness, in normal cases, is the characteristic of the bad citizen. Yet it is equally certain that there are occasions when Divine and human laws are in antagonism to each other. The voice of conscience sometimes impels serious men and women to break the law of the State or of the dominant Church of the day. So it was when the Apostles were commanded to speak no longer in the name of Christ, and disobeyed the injunction. So it was when Church and State combined together to enjoin silence on the Reformers, and the Reformers refused to listen to the command. Had Apostles and Reformers not been law-breakers, humanly speaking we should have had to-day no Christian Church and no Reformation.

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As with individuals, so with communities. It is sometimes justifiable, necessary, for a community to break the law.

The honest, uncontrollable impulse of the people had much to do with the Reformation. In Flanders, in Holland, at least, it was the crowd who put down idolatry. The Groote Kerk at Amsterdam stands to-day, purified, a monument to the fact. Through the water-lined streets they came singing into it: down went the relics of the Middle Ages: axe and hammers were plied, and the idols they had adored in place of the living God covered the ground with their fragments. Nor is Holland ashamed of the deed. Even to-day the East End of the Groote Kerk bears this inscription in rude rhyme:

*"Het misbruik in Godes huis allenskens ingebracht
Werdt hier weer afgedaan in 't jaar z eventig acht,"*

i.e., the pollution brought into the house of God was swept away in 1578.

Perhaps the needed Reformation in England will only be accomplished by the same means. Perhaps it will be necessary for men—if they have the courage their forefathers had—to sweep away idol and image from the Ritualistic churches, and above all the foolish idol of bread which is kept inside chapels and adored.

The parish church of St George's-in-the-East stands at the threshold of that mysterious mid-region of land and water, the Docks. Not far from the high road of Whitechapel, when it has been passed, the traveller plunges amid dingy byways, lanes encompassed by high brick walls, drawbridges, channels, masts—an arm of the sea in East London. The

St George's-in-the-East

church is Georgian, tall, imposing; a long flagged pathway leads to it, and the door is approached by a flight of steps. Mr Bryan King was appointed to this charge in 1842. No doubt from the first, Mr King inculcated by words on his parishioners the saving truth of the Ordinarieness of the Season, which had brought peace to his own soul: but it was not till about 1859 that he began to set it before their eyes. Then came surpliced choir, lighted candles, the Eucharistic vestments, and the other paraphernalia of Rome.

There was, however, in this case an antidote to the Ritualistic poison. As in the case of several other London churches, the parishioners had in their hands the election of an afternoon lecturer, who had as much right of entry to the pulpit as the rector himself. In December, 1858, they, through their vestry, elected bluff old Hugh Allen—a short, sturdy, jovial Protestant of the old school: racy in diction, outspoken, fearless, full of his message. The writer of this paper well remembers the sermon he preached many years after at the closing services of old Whitechapel Church: when the fire of his eye was not dimmed, nor his vigour abated, though he had passed the allotted span of the years of man.

Hugh Allen came to St George's to proclaim Christ and Him crucified. No tomfoolery about the "ordinariness" of the season, we may be sure, was the subject of his discourse. And so, two streams of opposite tendency meeting, great was the disturbance.

The Protestants attended the beginning of his ministry to do that which is the business of Pro-

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testants—to protest. “Bravo, Allen!” they cried, as he entered the pulpit: and as time went on they proceeded to show not only their approval of his ministrations, but their detestation of the Rector’s disloyalty to his Church.

CHAPTER XX

ST GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST—*continued*

TWO voices, absolutely different in message, were now sounding forth from the pulpit of St George's-in-the-East.

We know what the purport of bluff Hugh Allen's preaching was. He described the lost and ruined condition of man ; he pointed to the finished work of Calvary ; he showed how all who are weary and heavy-laden can find rest for their souls, and hear, with the inward ear of the spirit, the plenary absolution from the lips of Christ, "Be of good cheer : thy sins are forgiven thee." The purport of the sermons of the Rector, Mr Bryan King, has not come down to us : but we may imagine how, during the summer days of 1859, he would reiterate, of course in varied words, the message of his school of thought : "My brethren, remember, the season is ordinary. Never let go of this primary truth. It has brought peace to my own heart ; if you grasp it, it will bring peace to *yours*. The green on the altar is an eternal witness to it. There may be siren voices which will seek to persuade you, in these August days, to believe that perchance the season is Christmas, or that perchance it is Easter. But, brethren beloved, it is *not*. The

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season is ordinary—let no man shake your faith in this great matter.”

Perhaps some may say that to attribute such language to a preacher is absurd exaggeration: that not even a High Churchman would be capable of talking such nonsense. But the writer of these papers, himself, with his own ears, on the 11th of June, 1884, heard the great Canon Knox-Little cry, with impassioned tones, almost with tears in his voice, to a congregation at St Thomas's, Regent Street: “My brothers, my sisters, you can have no doubt of it: this is St Barnabas' Day!”

After that, no depths of folly are too profound for a Ritualist to sound.

The people of St George's manifested in a rough, rude fashion, their detestation of foolery both in word and deed—but in an effectual fashion, which it may be necessary to imitate if the rulers of the Church will not do the duty they have sworn to perform.

On the third Sunday in August, 1859, Hugh Allen took as usual the 2.30 P.M. service, and in his sermon spoke out frankly upon the dangers of sham Popery in the Church. At five to four, the doors were thrown open for the Rector's ordinary service, when an excited crowd burst in and thronged towards the “altar.” At four, a clergyman accompanied by a number of choristers came in, knelt with his back to the people, and began to intone the Litany. This act of irreverence excited the anger of some of the crowd and the counter-irreverence of others. For, instead of asking God for what were the people's needs in an ordinary manly tone, to whine out the petitions in a falsetto was certainly an act of mockery of God.

St George's-in-the-East—continued

If a man requiring a favour of me, sang his request to an Anglican chant, should I regard him as serious? Accordingly, part of the people exhibited their displeasure at this disgusting exhibition in a very sensible manner—they recited the responses in a loud, natural tone of voice, and drowned the whine of the priest.

On the next Sunday, a notorious and eccentric clergyman, the late Dr Lee, of Lambeth, officiated in the morning, and provoked the hostility of the parishioners by appearing in the garb of a priest of Rome. His sermon was of a highly inflammatory character, and was the real cause of the prolonged riots that followed. He denounced the parishioners as "disciples of the Gospel of Belial and followers of Beelzebub." It was hardly to be expected that an already excited population would be quiescent under such provocation. Mr Allen, indeed, tried, with commendable Christian charity, to calm them in the afternoon, and urged them to depart peaceably, without making any disturbance. But they were in no mood to listen to his advice, and their aspect was so threatening that the Rector's afternoon service had to be abandoned.

It is only such occurrences as these that will make Bishops do their duty and speak out. Soon after the riots began, the Bishop of London addressed a letter to the vestry of St George's, in which he described the newly-adopted vestments as "this childish mummary of antiquated garments," and assured them that he would deprive any curate who wore them of his licence. The Rector abandoned the use of the vestments. The Church, which had been closed for a time, was reopened in November, but the excite-

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ment continued: and the Bishop, again driven to do his duty by the instinct of the crowd, urged the clergy to abandon the absurd practice of turning their backs suddenly on the congregation at the end of the sermon.

During the year 1860, the excitement increased, and the disturbances, Sunday after Sunday, became more serious. The choir stalls were invaded, the dossal was pelted with orange peel, the altar cross was thrown down. The Bishop was again compelled to take action, and ordered the churchwardens to remove the objectionable ornaments: an order which they, as Protestants, gladly obeyed. Then an attempt was made to pacify the people by getting Mr King to take a year's rest, and allow another clergyman to do the duty. But the substitute still inflamed popular passion by chanting the psalms, continuing to dress the choir in surplices, etc., and the disturbances continued. The Bishop advised a return to the old black gown *régime*. The new clergyman refused to yield, and on being pressed, resigned his charge. Then the Bishop's chaplain took the services: the good old-fashioned Protestant form of service was returned to: and order was restored.

The crowd may have been wrong or right in their action: but they *succeeded*: they put down Ritualism at St George's. It might be wrong or right for the people of England to take the law into their hands to-day. But if they did, history would repeat itself: they would *succeed*: the Bishops would act, and Ritualism would be put down.

CHAPTER XXI

PLAGUE SPOTS INCREASING

WE are now getting within sight of harbour. Having traced the origin and development of the Ritualistic Movement, it remains for us to deal with modern Ritualism, its operation, its lawlessness, its unreality, in a few specific cases.

In 1859, that notorious Romanising Society, the English Church Union, was formed. One of its earliest attempts was to seek to prevent the preaching of the Gospel. Exeter Hall had been for some time used on Sundays to hold public services which should attract the masses who attended neither church nor chapel. The Word of God prevailed mightily, and many conversions were the result. But these souls were being converted to Jesus Christ, and not necessarily to any particular form of ecclesiastical organisation. This did not suit the English Church Union. Its members cared little for the extension of the Kingdom of God: they only cared for the extension of a sect. They failed, however, to make a tool of the incumbent in whose parish Exeter Hall was situated, and their hatred of the Gospel had to vent itself only in words.

For the first few years of its existence, the Union

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set itself to secure the prosecution of Evangelical clergymen, but the attempt proved a failure all round. Then the example set by the Ritualists was followed by the Evangelicals. It was determined to ascertain definitely, through the Law Courts, what the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England was. The Union then became the defendant in all the Ritual prosecutions. Vast sums were subscribed, numbers of new members enrolled, and the battle was engaged. In this, we have no cause for complaint. It was for years a fair battle between the two great societies, the Church Association and the English Church Union. The only thing was for honourable combatants to abide by the result.

Meanwhile, the plague-spots in the Church of England were increasing and multiplying.

All Saints, Margaret Street, was opened in 1859. The nucleus of this church and congregation was the famous Margaret Chapel, of which we have already spoken. After Mr Oakely had joined the Church of Rome, the services were conducted by the Rev. Upton Richards, and plans were made for building a permanent church which should be a "Model Church" in the eyes of Ritualists and Ecclesiologists. The work was long and compact: money was lavishly spent: a perfect Gothic building, in contradistinction to the hitherto prevalent classical style, was erected: the interior glowed with frescoes: and at length, on the 28th May, 1859, the new temple was opened. The total cost of the edifice had been about £60,000.

The consecration service was performed by Dr Tait, then Bishop of London, who in his sermon took the opportunity of uttering a mild word of

Plague Spots Increasing

warning against extravagance in religious ceremonial. It was soon seen how necessary the word of warning was. The midday celebration of Holy Communion was, from the first, choral—a kind of service which seems incongruous and irreverent to many a devout communicant who remembers the quiet beauty of the First Meal in the guest chamber at Jerusalem. In 1867, the Eucharistic Vestments were adopted, and since then the Church has remained a model of fashionable, undemonstrative, West End High Churchism.

St Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, was another of the earlier churches in which the "Catholic Revival" was exhibited in the fulness of its absurdity. The way in which the ordinary common-sense outsider regarded such proceedings is well illustrated by a letter which appeared in the *Standard* in 1864. A sober Churchman had attended the morning service one Sunday in that year, and wrote to the organ in question to give his impressions of it. He records how first of all he was turned out of his seat, because he was sitting on the side where only women were allowed. He then describes how a procession of choristers entered, "followed by two clergymen, accompanied by a lad carrying a tin apparatus"—*i.e.*, a censer. He proceeds to give an amusing account of the dress of the two officiants. "Number One was apparelled in a green and yellow baize poncho, over a close-fitting white garment: Number Two simply wore a green bell-pull round his neck." The absurdity of intoning a request to his Master next struck the observer, and he tells us how the intoning clergyman "appeared to be washing his words in his mouth or elsewhere, and uttering them afterwards in

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batches in a deep roar." Before the sermon there was an amusing transformation scene in the religious pantomime which was being enacted. "Number One" divested himself of his "poncho," and, says our chronicler, "presented to my bewildered gaze the spectacle of an individual in a white dimity dressing-gown with green trimmings and a cotton girdle."

Such comments show how foreign these proceedings were to the spirit of the Church of England, how offensive to an old-fashioned worshipper. The *Standard*, in its leading article, spoke still more plainly on the matter, and described the Ritualistic incumbent of St Mary Magdalene's, as "a swindler of the religious body." It pointed out that such men were "false to their ordination vows, traitors guilty of evasion, and unworthy servants of the Master," and it reminded Mr Stuart that he was "not ordained to act as a posture-maker, a juggler, and a contortionist in costume." And such words have sounded forth again and again, burning with the indignation of honest men; but the posturing, the juggling, and the contortions go on at St Mary Magdalene's to the present day.

CHAPTER XXII

MORE PLAGUE SPOTS

St Michael's, Shoreditch, was consecrated on the 24th of August, 1865. And Dr Tait, Bishop of London, who opened it, left an example that modern Bishops would do well to follow.

The church is situated in a poor district of Finsbury, not far from the old terminus of the Great Eastern Railway: little shops, factories, model dwellings, surround it. From the first it had been intended to make this church a great centre of imitation-Catholicism for the East End of London. Preparation had been made to start with some display of ritual, as a foretaste of what was to come, and on the consecration day the "altar" was vested in white and had upon it two candles and four great vases of flowers.

The Bishop was conducted to the vestry, where there was a large company of clergy assembled. As soon as he had entered, he sharply addressed the incumbent, Mr Lyford, with the remark, "What is the meaning of those large bunches of flowers over the communion table? Before the consecration is proceeded with, they must be removed." There was nothing for it—the reluctant pioneer of Ritualism had to send the churchwarden to take the vases away.

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The Bishop then looked round upon the clergy. They were arrayed as much like Merry Andrews as they dared to be, but fancied fondly that they had avoided going too far. Richly embroidered stoles hung round their necks, instead of the old-fashioned scarf. But the Bishop would allow no nonsense—not even a beginning of it: he thought the place and occasion too sacred. He told the gaily-decked parsons that they must appear in the simple dress of clergymen of the Church of England. They stared at each other, and pretended to be unable to fathom the Bishop's meaning.

"I must ask you to take off those things, gentlemen," said the Bishop sternly. The Merry Andrews had no option, and off came the embroidered stoles.

The Bishop again glanced round the vestry, and saw an oak cross wreathed with flowers. He ordered it to be taken down and locked up in the cupboard. He was then about to leave the vestry and proceed with the ceremony of the day, when he saw one of those weak specimens of humanity, a clerical layman—a creature who is almost more absurd than the imitation priest himself. This is the creature who distinguishes himself by his acrobatic performances in church, who bows to the altar and then turns round to see the effect on the congregation, who wears medals and goes about with a little library of books of devotion. Such a creature met the Bishop's eye, as he left the vestry at St Michael's—the churchwarden, arrayed in a long black cassock. The Bishop ordered him to "take off that ridiculous garment," and then, with the clergy, proceeded to the chancel.

But here a further objectionable sight met his eye.

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There was a cartoon of the Crucifixion over the altar, a preliminary to the reredos which was to be erected. The Bishop would allow nothing of the kind in a Protestant church: it must go. And as he, apparently, could not trust the word of a Ritualist, the incumbent had to give a written undertaking that the drawing should be removed. Then only did the Bishop consent to proceed with the consecration of the church.

Of course, when all was over, and the Bishop's back was turned, the full Romish Ritual was introduced at St Michael's, and has continued to this day.

St Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate.—The case of the church of St Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, further illustrates the hollowness and insincerity which in so many instances characterised the High Church Movement.

The church is a quaint and beautiful one—or was, before Vandals took it in hand. It is one of the few remaining City churches: churches which greed and irreligion have combined, under episcopal favour, to sweep off the face of the earth. They nestle in quaint corners of the great city: they are surrounded by little oases of green in the wilderness of bricks and mortar: they invite to repose and meditation in a brief period of rest from the bustle and rush and din without. As you gaze from one of the bridges that span the Thames, their spires point the serious mind to aspirations after better things than earth can afford. But they are disappearing, rapidly disappearing: their places are wanted for rich men to erect offices to make yet more money in, and so the churches have to go.

One would have imagined that a love of beauty,

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even were there no religious instinct, would have induced lovers of London to spare them. Our British capital is not too beautiful, and it seems a very unpatriotic thing to sweep, for the sake of a little lucre, our most beautiful things away.

St Ethelburga's nestles behind the houses of Bishopsgate Street: shops almost shut it in: a little tower peeps above. Before restoration, it had an interior of great quaintness and beauty: there were the high pews which are a natural feature of City churches: without which they look bare and desolate. But the Catholic revival swept away its beauty as well as logic: and in the Forties the interior was gutted. Some fifteen or twenty years later, a thorough Ritualistic service was adopted: candles were lighted at midday, vestments were worn: and in 1864 the use of incense was introduced. It became the most advanced Church in the City, and the Saints' Day service at noon attracted a large number of the curious and effeminate.

But of all the Ritualistic Plague-Spots,—the writer speaks from absolute knowledge—St Ethelburga's was the hollowest, the most insincere. Of course the teaching was, as usual, the Real Presence, fasting Communion, asceticism, self-denial. But breakfasts were consumed in the vestry before the midday Communion, and beer and brandy were often secretly conveyed therein in large quantities, and the little room behind the gaudy altar-piece assumed the aspect of a tavern.

About the year 1876, there were the mutterings of a storm. Here sturdy Protestant parishioners resolved that this plague-spot at least should be excised, and they addressed a remonstrance to Dr

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Jackson, Bishop of London, on the illegal practices prevalent in the parish church.

Bishop Jackson would have been regarded as a strange character, a speckled bird, by his episcopal brethren of the present day. In fact, in the twentieth century his episcopacy would have been impossible in the Church of England—no one would have dared to make him a Bishop. For he had principles, and a sense of duty. He believed that a man, even in an exalted station, should be above prevarication or lying, and should keep any solemn promise which he had deliberately made to God. He had sworn to drive away strange and erroneous doctrines, contrary to the Word of God, and therefore he felt, as a moral man, that he must do so. A man with such a character would be regarded as an impossible person to receive preferment in the present day.

Accordingly, when the complaint of the parishioners of St Ethelburga's came before him, he signified that unless the incumbent, the Rev. J. Rodwell, would conform to the law, he should allow proceedings to be taken against him.

Now, the value of the living of St Ethelburga was over £1100 a year. This was not a sum to be given up lightly for principle or anything else—and resistance to the law would have meant the ultimate forfeiture of the living. At first a petition to the Bishop was tried—a petition purporting to come from the members of the congregation. A sheet of paper was placed on a table at the end of the church, and an official sat by it to invite signatures. Everybody who entered the church was invited to sign. It might be a chance visitor who had never entered

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the church before and never would again: it might be some wandering nun: it might be a London street-boy, attracted by curiosity. No matter—the person was pounced upon, and if possible induced to sign: and the document went up to the Bishop, purporting to come exclusively from the members of the congregation!

The Bishop probably knew very well what the value of the affair was. At all events, he paid no heed to it, and the proceedings went on.

Now the Rodwells were not the people to give up £1100 a year. Accordingly, they submitted to the law: submitted with a very bad grace. Incense, vestments, candles had to go: and the clergy, like sulky children deprived of their toys, resolved that everything should go as well. The next Sunday—a Sunday in the early spring of 1877—the service was conducted with a striking and vindictive baldness. There was no choir, the organ was not played, there were no hymns, and the chants were not sung; and the curate performed the service in a bedgown surplice, which had long lain forgotten in some ancient lumber chest. The congregation were asked not to attend, and did not.

So, for a time, owing to the firmness of the Bishop, the St Ethelburga plague-spot was excised.

CHAPTER XXIII

MORE PLAGUE SPOTS—*continued*

St Alban's, Holborn.—No church has been more identified with the growth of Ritualism in the Church of England than St Alban's. Years of litigation brought its name prominently before the public. Protestant agencies toiled and spent and laboured to stop the plague of semi-Roman doctrine there, and so far as one can see, humanly speaking, all the effort was vain.

This church has always exhibited a curious contrast, which from time to time has characterised the Ritualistic movement in the Church of England. I mean the admixture of sacramental teaching and practice with evangelical preaching. It inspires one to hope that God has His people "in Rome also," scattered and few, but there. For forty years, ever since the church was founded, the curate of St Alban's has been the Rev. A. H. Stanton—a man who, let us frankly own it to his credit, refuses all offers of preferment, all family livings, has devoted his life to labour among the poor. The present writer has heard more than once from the lips of Mr Stanton a savoury, comforting, Gospel sermon, full of Christ and His finished work. And yet, to his disgust

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and amusement, the writer has seen him arrayed in the ridiculous garments which the Ritualists have stolen from Rome. His feeling was, "This is Lazarus, alive, indeed, but not yet stripped of his grave-clothes."

The foundation of St Alban's, Holborn, was in this wise :

A service was held on a Sunday in May, 1862, in a room over a shop in Baldwin's Gardens, but the staircase was so insecure and the room so unwholesome, that next month the missionaries migrated to the basement of a printer's. From the first, the service had a Ritualistic tone. There was an "altar"—or imitation of one, as there are no altars in the Church of England—and lights and linen vestments were in use. Then Lord Leigh and Mr Hubbard respectively gave the site and the permanent church with its endowment, and St Alban's was consecrated in February, 1863.

Mr Hubbard appointed to the incumbency the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, who had worked in the parish of St George's-in-the-East, and had been identified with the riots there. Tall, thin, ascetic, with the obstinacy of the Scotchman, combined with the pig-headedness of the cleric, Mr Mackonochie was a typical priest, an imitation almost as good as the real article which is manufactured by Rome. He had no preaching power ; he was quite unlearned, in the real sense of the word, but he had an absolute belief in his own little narrow creed. He thought the whole truth of God was to be found in, and was confined to the new religion the Tractarians invented in 1833. He was entirely

More Plague Spots—continued

self-sacrificing, entirely conscientious, and entirely stupid; and he was prepared, if need be, to go to the stake for the sake of his creed of thirty years' duration.

It was not long before St Alban's became the battle-ground of contending parties in the Church of England.

In 1864, the Ritual became more elaborate. Gorgeous-coloured vestments replaced the simple linen ones; incense was burnt; sensuous and complicated music made the chief Sunday service uncongregational, and, therefore, a closer parody of the Roman Mass, which is sung in a language not understood of the people. The Protestant element in the Church of England felt that the time had come when the legality of the innovation must be tested. The face of the Church of England was being transfigured, her doctrine and practice revolutionised. A house divided against itself could not stand; it must be definitely ascertained whether the National Establishment was really Protestant or Catholic; it seemed to be only by litigation that the matter could be settled.

Proceedings were accordingly taken in 1867 at the expense of the Church Association, and the following charges were preferred against Mr Mackonochie: Elevation of the consecrated wafer, kneeling before it, the ceremonial and general use of incense, the mixture of water with wine in the chalice, and the lighting of candles during the Communion service.

Judgment was delivered by Sir Robert Phillimore in the Court of Arches, in March 1868. Elevation above the head was declared to be illegal, but kneel-

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ing was not forbidden. The use of incense was prohibited. The mixing of water with the wine was not to take place during the service. The use of lighted candles was allowed "for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world," as if He would not be so without them!

The judgment was fairly satisfactory to the Ritualistic party; and Mr Mackonochie addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, declaring his intention of abiding by it, and adding, "I cannot but feel the deepest thankfulness that a judgment conceived in such a spirit of deep and true Catholicity, should have been pronounced at the time." It also stated that he would be pleasing his friends by accepting "the decision of the highest court which claims spiritual authority rather than appeal to a civil tribunal." But there were reasons amongst loyal Churchmen for being dissatisfied with that judgment and seeking to reverse it. They recognised that the Church of England is a department of the State, created by Act of Parliament at the time of the Reformation, and therefore it must be clearly shown that she was subject to civil courts.

Moreover, the Dean of Arches, in delivering judgment, had made some *ex parte* statements which would not bear historical examination. He had insisted, as High Churchmen still do, on the identity of the Church before and after the Reformation. The fact of the case was, that there was no such identity; the Reformation in this country was an entire break with the past; the old Church, with its Mass and its Pope for head, had been disestablished and disendowed by Act of Parliament, and a new Church, with its Communion and Queen

More Plague Spots—continued

for head, had been set up in its place. It was advisable that this should be shown and known. And so Protestants were relieved by the decision of the promoters to appeal from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

An impression soon began to prevail that the decision of the Judicial Committee in the Mackonochie case would be adverse to the Ritualists. So the Ritualists prepared to discount it beforehand, and resolved upon this, that the best excuse for refusing to give up their playthings would be to deny the authority of the Court. The idea was therefore suggested that it was merely a "lay tribunal"; in the words of a Ritualist writer, it was "appointed by Parliament to deal with questions of doctrine and discipline of the Church, without the sanction of the spirituality"—*i.e.*, Convocation.

This has, ever since, been the protest constantly put forward by the Ritualists to justify their disobedience to the law of the land. The Court which condemns this ritual is not a spiritual Court, and therefore its judgments are not binding on the consciences of the clergy of the Church of England. Now, the manifest absurdity of this plea is seen by even the most superficial historical consideration. The Creeds and Liturgy of the Church of England were given to her by the authority of Parliament. The Reformation was effected by Parliament, Convocation sometimes assenting, sometimes not assenting, to its proceedings. When Edward the Sixth came to the throne, an Act of Parliament decreed that the Communion should be administered to the laity in both kinds. In 1549, an Act of Parliament—passed in spite of

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the protests of the Catholic Bishops—decreed the use of an English Prayer Book. In 1552, another more Protestant Prayer Book was appointed by Parliament to be read in church. The Counter-Reformation received Parliamentary sanction in the reign of Mary, and on the accession of Elizabeth, in 1558–59, Protestantism was established without consulting Convocation at all. In 1662, with the assent of Convocation, but by the authority of Parliament, the final Reformation settlement was made.

Clearly, therefore, in the strictest sense of the word, the Reformed Church of England is a Parliamentary institution. Laymen settled what her Liturgy was to be, what her workers were to do and believe. The contention that a lay court has not authority to interpret the documents which Parliament gave her is a manifestly disingenuous excuse for refusing to submit to the law.

The judgment of the Judicial Committee in the St Alban's case was delivered by Lord Cairns on December 23rd, 1868. It was against the Ritualists on all points. Lights, elevation, prostrations, the mixed chalice, all were condemned. A howl of wrath went up from the Ritualist press. The Protestant character of the Church of England was definitely and unmistakably affirmed.

Before going in for open violation of the law, the Ritualists decided on adopting the Jesuitical course of seeing how near they could go to breaking it without incurring the unpleasant penalties of disobedience. Mr Mackonochie was forbidden to kneel before the consecrated elements. He bowed the knee as low as he could without touching the

More Plague Spots—continued

ground. He was forbidden to elevate the elements above his head. He elevated them as high as he could without passing the barrier of his forehead. Indeed, in this particular there was a conflict of testimony. Five witnesses declared that the elements had actually been elevated above the head on several occasions; three of the clergy and two churchwardens denied it. Whatever may have really happened, it is clear that there had been a disingenuous attempt to evade the judgment, unworthy, one would think, of Christians or even gentlemen.

Mr Mackonochie himself, with singular effrontery, justified and owned, in a letter to the *Record*, his evasions of the law. "I was directed not to kneel, so I did not kneel," he said. "The Church knows two acts, quite distinct—kneeling and genuflecting; being forbidden to kneel, I genuflected, as a matter of course, believing our Lord to be there, I must show Him some reverence. The very principles of my duty to God obliged me to save as much for His honour as I could: and this forbade me to obey to a hair's-breadth beyond the mere letter of that which seemed to me to assail His honour."

Another amusing, though at the same time disgusting subtlety was practised in the matter of lighted candles. The Judicial Committee had forbidden Mr Mackonochie to light them during the celebration of the Holy Communion. But the clergy and congregation of St Alban's must somehow have their Sunday amusement, and not suffer the loss of their toys; so, as they could not be burned during the Communion service, the precious candles were burned during Morning Prayer. No

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clearer proof of the hollowness and insincerity of Ritualism could probably have been afforded. The Ritualists pretended to light the candles in order to signify that Christ, present in the Sacrament, is the light of the world. But now, to preserve the ornament, they are quite content to put them out when the Sacrament was celebrated and light them when it was not, and thus practically, for the sake of a toy, to deny their own favourite doctrine of the Real Presence.

A Court of honest Englishmen could not allow itself to be bamboozled by these shuffles. Mr Mackonochie was, in December, 1869, suspended from his ministrations for a period of three months.

The *Church Times* of course led the way in the matter of disobedience and disingenuousness. As soon as Mr Mackonochie was suspended, it declared in its leading article, "Starting with the broad fact that the Privy Council, whatever may be its power, has no authority 'in foro conscientiæ,' to which any section of the Church is disposed for one moment to bow, it can have a right to look for nothing beyond the barest literal compliance with its decrees." And recognising that the decision had practically denied the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Church of England, it suggested as an evasion of it that its friends "should sing or say the Gloria kneeling in adoration before the Lamb of God enthroned on His altar." Double-dealing and religion have always gone hand in hand throughout the annals of Ritualism.

The monition suspending Mr Mackonochie was served on him five minutes before the commencement of service on Advent Sunday. The ceremonial underwent no change that morning. Mr Stanton preached

More Plague Spots—continued

a sensational sermon. He took for his text, "The monition of the Judicial Committee." Mr Mackonochie was, of course, represented as a martyr—for alleged martyrdom is the badge of all their tribe. "As the priest holds the sacrifice of Calvary in his hands on the altar," said the preacher, "he must remember that he is a sacrificing man, and his whole life must be a sacrifice to his work and to his cause. It is the crowning honour for the priest to suffer for His master's sake. You will not hear the voice of your faithful priest for three months, but as he sits in his stall his silence will speak more than the rarest eloquence. Remember the words of the Psalmist, 'I became dumb and opened not my mouth, for it was Thy doing, O Lord of Hosts.'"

For they were, of course, nothing if not histrionic. The suspended Vicar sat every Sunday conspicuously in his stall throughout the service, a martyr to conscience—that conscience which allowed him to remain a minister of a State Church and refuse to obey the State; that conscience which allowed him in the Reformed Church to preach the doctrine the Reformers had repudiated.

After the three months' suspension, Mr Mackonochie resumed the conduct of the services, and defied the law as consistently as before. Three years elapsed, and the Protestant party resolved once more that the majesty of the law should be vindicated, and a fresh suit was begun in the Court of Arches. The incumbent was on this occasion charged with the use of lighted candles during Morning Prayer, elevation of the elements, processions with banners, crucifix, and candles; having the Agnus Dei sung after the consecration; making

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the sign of the Cross; kissing the Prayer Book; using wafer-bread; wearing Romish vestments; and saying the Prayer of Consecration with his back to the people.

Sir Robert Phillimore delivered judgment on December 7th, 1874. All the matters charged had been condemned by the Purchas Judgment (to which we shall later have occasion to allude). Sir R. Phillimore, much against his will, had no option but to follow the decision of a higher Court. He condemned Mr Mackonochie on all points, except that of elevation, which he held not to be proved, and sentenced him to six weeks' suspension.

The Bishop of London enjoined Mr Stanton, in the meanwhile, to carry on the services in accordance with the law of the land. A committee of the congregation issued a very long-winded protest against this order. They declared that if the clergy obeyed, they would leave the church in a body. They stated, and rightly, that the decisions of the courts were aimed at their own peculiar theories of the Holy Communion. They dwelt irrelevantly on the zeal and long services of the assistant clergy, and ended by calling on the Bishop to retract his attitude towards them. The Bishop, however, unlike Bishops of the present day, was a man of back-bone; he declined to be bullied, and he determined that the law should be enforced.

The clergy, therefore, stopped the celebration of Holy Communion altogether, and the congregation, during the suspension, attended the church of St Vedart, Foster Lane, which had just blossomed into Ritualism, another "plague spot" which we shall in a subsequent chapter describe.

More Plague Spots—continued

When Mr Mackonochie resumed the services, he made no change in the ceremonial. In March, 1878, another application was made to the Court of Lord Penzance, established under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, to enforce the monition of Sir Robert Phillimore. The judge said that as several years had elapsed, he would, before pronouncing sentence, give Mr Mackonochie an opportunity of conforming to the law. The incumbent did nothing of the kind—the cue of the Ritualist now was sullen defiance of the authorities. Accordingly, in June of the same year, Lord Penzance sentenced the persistent and defiant offender to suspension for three years.

And now four years of persistent litigation ensued. The Ritualists thought they saw a loop-hole of escape on a technicality. They had, as we have seen, taken the firm ground, that they could have nothing to do in Spiritual matters with Secular Courts, that their consciences would not allow them to obey. But as soon as the idea occurred to them that they might secure a decision favourable to themselves, conscience and consistency were flung to the four winds. Secular Courts were appealed to, not only in this, but also in other cases. A more flagrant instance of dishonesty and chicanery has perhaps never been seen in the long history of wickedness committed in the name of religion. It seemed as if honour and conscience had no place in the members of this sect.

They appealed first to the Court of Queen's Bench, and argued that Lord Penzance had exceeded his jurisdiction in suspending Mr Mackonochie without a fresh suit being brought against him. The Court of Queen's Bench in its judgment decided in favour of

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the appellants. The Protestant Party appealed against this to the Court of Appeal, which reversed the decision of the Queen's Bench. The Ritualists, who had another card up their sleeve, decided to await events before going to the House of Lords, as they subsequently did. Accordingly, the Court of Arches pronounced anew its sentence of suspension for three years on Mr Mackonochie, such sentence to take effect on Sunday, November 23rd, 1879.

On Sunday morning, Mr Lee, the Secretary to the Bishop of London, and the Rev. W. Sinclair, his chaplain, proceeded to St Alban's Church, and made their way to the vestry. There they found Mr Mackonochie, arrayed in surplice and stole, with the churchwardens and sidesmen, and Mr Lee read the service which appointed Mr Sinclair curate-in-charge during the suspension of the incumbent. Mr Mackonochie made a little speech, repudiating the authority of secular courts, though he was just about himself to appeal to one. The cure of souls in that parish, he said, was given him by the Bishop. "Now, I have not been suspended from the office then conferred on me," he continued, "by any Court which has like authority from God to deprive me of what He has given, or thereby to release me from the responsibility of holding it and using it for Him to the best of my power, He being my Helper, till He shall take it from me or call me to my account. Therefore I hereby declare that no priest has or can have any right or power to minister in this Church during my occupancy of the charge, save myself and any other whom I may authorise to officiate in my stead."

Mr Lee and Mr Sinclair thereupon shook hands

More Plague Spots—continued

politely and withdrew, and Mr Mackonochie put on his vestments and proceeded with the service in the usual lawless manner. A large and curious congregation filled the church, expectant, of course, of a sermon on the topic which filled their minds. Mr Stanton was the preacher, and with characteristic humour began his discourse by saying: "There has been an absorbing topic of conversation during the past week—the weather." For there had occurred an early fall of snow that year.

Both sides now went to work against each other in the Courts. The Protestant Party asked Lord Penzance for sentence of deprivation on Mr Mackonochie for disregarding the suspension. Mr Mackonochie—whose conscience forbade him to obey secular courts—appealed to the House of Lords against the sentence of suspension affirmed by the Court of Appeal. Lord Penzance refused to deprive, on the ground that no measures had been taken to execute his own sentence of suspension. On April 7th, 1881, the House of Lords dismissed Mr Mackonochie's appeal, and affirmed the three years' suspension decreed by Lord Penzance in 1878.

Matters were now approaching a deadlock. It was apparent that it would be at last necessary to really enforce the suspension, that the clergy of St Alban's would resist, and that trouble, possibly disturbance and riot, would be the result. Dr Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was dying. He wanted to die in peace, not with the sound of a Church controversy ringing in his failing ears. Accordingly, from his death-bed he appealed to Mr Mackonochie to solve the situation by resigning his living. To his credit, be it recorded, the incumbent of St Alban's

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yielded, and on the 23rd November, 1882, he wrote to the Archbishop resigning the benefice.

The Rev. A. J. Suckling, who had succeeded Mr Lowder in the incumbency of St Peter's, London Docks, was appointed to St Alban's. For a year he carried on the services exactly as they had been carried on by Mr Mackonochie. But on Christmas Eve, 1883, he resumed full ritual. High Mass was sung by three "priests" in gorgeous vestments, processions went round the Church, and clouds of incense enveloped the "altar," and so, except for making plain what the law of the Church of England is, it seemed that all those years of litigation had been wasted.

"Ibi omnis

Effusus labor, atque inimitis rupta tyranni

Foedera, tergue fragor stagnis auditus Avernis."

It was the saddest of steps in the downward career of the Church of England.

Mr Mackonochie exchanged with Mr Suckling and became Vicar of St Peter's, London Docks. Another prosecution was instituted, and the Courts decided that owing to his continued contumacy, he must be deprived of that living. It was felt by his friends that it would be impossible to fight further: that further resistance would be complicated by the sequestration of the small endowment of St Peter's; and so, just a year after his resignation of St Alban's, he resigned this cure also.

From this time, Mr Mackonochie occasionally resided in the Clergy House of St Alban's, and occasionally visited his friend, the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. On December 15th, 1887, during such a visit, he lost his way among the mountains, and

More Plague Spots—continued

his lifeless body was found among the snow. So ended that restless life: a life, certainly, of purity and self-denial: a life also of self-devotion and wrongheadedness; a life over whose faults we hope the sentence of Absolution was spoken by the only priest who can absolve, the Great High Priest Himself.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RITUALISTIC WORKING MAN

FEW things were more farcical in the story of the Ritualistic farce than the action of certain persons who masqueraded as working men.

Of course there were a few working men among them. It was possible here and there to get hold of a genuine working man who was attracted by picturesque ceremonial, and by the offer of a badge or office to induce him to join a society. In this way the Church of England Working Men's Society was started in 1875. It at once became a preposterous and portentous fraud. To a plain person, I presume, a "working man" is an individual who gets a living by manual labour. But by the ingenious sophistry of our Ritualistic friends, a "working man" was anybody who worked at all. If you were a clerk in an office, you were a working man. If you were a merchant in the City, you were a working man. If you even put pen to paper for any purpose at all, you were a working man. And so the Church of England Working Men's Society became one of the most amusing shams of the nineteenth century; but it succeeded in its object of throwing some dust in the eyes of the public and persuading some guileless

The Ritualistic Working Man

persons that there was a nucleus of the working classes behind the antics of the Ritualistic priests.

It began by sending a protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury against the prosecution of Mr Mackonochie. The Archbishop had no opportunity of knowing how he was being bamboozled, and consented to receive a deputation. But he gave them a strong *douche* of common-sense. He told them it was ridiculous to suppose that he had any power to over-ride the decision of the Law Courts. The Secretary was equal to him. He put on an air of guileless simplicity, and, "Of course," said he, "we know nothing of the Privy Council or the Court of Arches," though he had the whole proceedings at his finger ends.

However, after a little beating about the bush and finessing, the Archbishop got the *soi-disant* working man to tell him what they wanted—namely, the celebration of Holy Communion at St Alban's with all the ceremonial that the Courts had declared to be illegal. "We want the vestments, the altar lights, and the eastward position, your Grace," said one gentleman named Rudd. The Archbishop simply replied that if they wanted the law altered, they must legitimately agitate for it, but till the law was altered, they must make the best of things as they were. They persisted in irrelevant statements about their unanimity, their numbers, the zeal of the clergy, and so on.

The Archbishop got rather tired of it, and finally told them that they ought to obey the law of the Church of which they were members, and that they would be guilty of great impropriety if they did not do so. Then the Secretary lost his temper, and

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threatened the Archbishop with the wrath of the working classes, and eventual Disestablishment. "O, nonsense, nonsense," said the sensible Archbishop; and the deputation retired crestfallen with the threat, duly carried out, of publishing the details of an interview which the Archbishop regarded as of a private nature.

After this, it is not surprising to find that the Bishop of London refuses to receive these "working men" at all.

The Society proceeded to found branches in various towns by the means we have indicated above, to hold meetings, anniversary services, and so forth. For a time these proceedings attracted some notice and were reported in the papers, as indicative of a new movement among the working classes of England. But its hollowness could not long be concealed, and its doings have long since dropped out of the public ken, and been treated with contemptuous indifference. It is only interesting to refer at this period of time to the matter as an indication of the essential insincerity of Ritualistic methods, and how common-sense could prick a bubble, however ingeniously inflated. It were devoutly to be wished that there was as much common-sense on the Episcopal Bench now as in 1875.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PURCHAS JUDGMENT

THE judgment in *Elphinstone v. Purchas* was one of the most far-reaching delivered in the course of the history of the Church of England, and in its main features continues to be the law of the land to this day.

St James', Brighton, was a quaint, picturesque, and old-world proprietary chapel. Its place now knows it no more ; it has long been superseded by a church of the staring hideousness which the modern builder delights in. It had the old-fashioned pews ; it had a tiny chancel ; it had a gallery at the west end. The spirit of the restful eighteenth century pervaded it, and the refreshed worshipper felt

"The spirit of past days unchanged is there,
While all around is changed and changing everywhere."

When, however, the Rev. James Purchas became its incumbent, the changes were startling indeed. He was not able seriously to mar the picturesque appearance of the interior, but he blossomed forth into the most advanced ritual yet seen in the history of the Oxford Movement. Of course High Mass was sung with vestments, lights, and incense. But Morning

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and Evening Prayer became equally elaborate functions. The officiant wore a cope of cloth of gold; members of the choir who were called "cantors" wore slightly less costly copes; the little chapel was pervaded by copes—sometimes as many as eight copes wedging themselves into the chancel; and incense was burnt as freely as at "Mass." On Candlemas Day, 1868, candles were solemnly blessed (the effect that the blessing produced on the wax has not been handed down), and at the singing of the Gospel the congregation held up lighted tapers in their hands, and again at Evening Prayer—we may charitably venture to hope with no serious detriment to their apparel.

The extraordinary proceedings at St James' became the talk of Brighton. A number of local clergymen and laymen put themselves into communication with the Bishop of Chichester and the Vicar of Brighton. The Bishop of that date was a loyal Protestant Churchman, and in his reply he declared that the practices at St James' "deserved a much severer censure than that of Ritualism. They were often profanely irreverent violations of the rubrics and doctrines of our Church." And he did not confine himself to the expression of an opinion. He solemnly inhibited Mr Purchas from preaching, administering the Sacrament, or officiating at Divine Service in the diocese.

We all know the opinions expressed by Ritualists concerning Episcopacy and Episcopal authority. For them, the Bishops are the direct successors of the Apostles, and authority given to them by right divine. To disobey them is mortal sin. Dissenters are left to the "uncovenanted mercies of God," because they

The Purchas Judgment

do not submit to the Bishop of the diocese. All these pious opinions are fervently maintained and expounded, until a Bishop happens to interfere with the Ritualists themselves. Then their convictions are thrown to the winds. They eat the words with an appetite of unparalleled voracity. The Bishop, endowed with the authority of God Himself, becomes anathema. He is flouted and ridiculed. He is denounced in the columns of the *Church Times*. Scurrilous verses are printed about him in the columns of that paper. And so it will not surprise any reader that Mr Purchas, being a firm believer in the Divine Authority of the Episcopate, disobeyed his bishop with an even mind, and went on performing his services without paying the slightest attention to the inhibition.

Legal proceedings were instituted against Mr Purchas, and judgment was finally delivered by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on February 23rd, 1871. By it the whole of the innovations introduced by the Ritualistic Party were condemned. The use of the Eucharistic vestments was declared to be illegal. The mixing of water with wine was forbidden. Candles and incense were prohibited. The celebrant was ordered to stand at the North End of the Holy Table, and not to turn his back on the people during the Prayer of Consecration. In a word, the simple Protestant character of the ceremonial of the Church of England was distinctly affirmed, and the work of the counter Reformation declared to be contrary to law.

With some trifling modification, leaving a doubt about the Eastward position, this decision remains the law of the land till this day.

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Of course Mr Purchas refused to obey the law authorities as he had refused to obey his spiritual superiors. But before the conflict came to an issue he was removed by an attack of pneumonia from the scene of the strife.

CHAPTER XXVI

ST VEDAST'S, FOSTER LANE

SOME of the most beautiful features of the City of London are the ancient churches, hidden in holes and corners, surrounded by dismal warehouses : churches which speak of rest and refreshment of spirit in the midst of the region of money-making and bustle and noise. A few of them date from before the Fire. The majority of them are the creation of Wren, who devoted his love and care to raising them from the ashes, renewed in beauty. It is greatly to be regretted, at all events from a sentimental point of view (and sentiment plays a large part in human life), that so many of them have been removed from sordid and utilitarian considerations. The plea put forth by Bishops and others that the money for which the sites are sold is needed to provide accommodation in more populous parts of London is vitiated by the fact that in those parts of London people do not go to church.

Equal vandalism is displayed by those persons who do not demolish the churches, but destroy their beauty under the pretext of so-called "restoration." It is grievous to see the damage that has been done to our ancient monuments by such persons. The church, for instance, of St Mary, Abchurch, had pews which dis-

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played some of the finest carving of Grinling Gibbons. The interior is now a howling wilderness. The church of St Stephen, Walbrook, by the Exchange, had within some of the finest specimens of wood-work in the City. It was removed, and the church was reduced to barren hideousness because the Rector and churchwardens had in their hands some extensive parochial funds and did not know how to employ them.

One such fine specimen of Wren's work is the church of St Vedast's, Foster Lane. In 1846, Thomas Pelham Dale was appointed incumbent, and for nearly thirty years the services went on in the usual quiet Protestant fashion; then for some unexplained reason, Mr Dale suddenly changed his views, and adopted the notions of the High Church Party. The choir of St Lawrence, Jewry, was leaving because the incumbent would not turn his back to the people at the Prayer of Consecration. Mr Dale invited them to St Vedast's, and full choral service was adopted. In 1875 came the suspension of Mr Mackonochie, and the refusal of the assistant clergy to celebrate the Holy Communion in the church if they were deprived of the toys with which they had been accustomed to play. Mr Dale invited the congregation to St Vedast's. Every Sunday morning a curious spectacle was witnessed in the City. The choir, clergy, and congregation attended Morning Prayer at St Alban's. Then they sallied forth, and solemnly marched along Holborn, along the Viaduct, along Newgate Street, amid the astonishment of the passers-by, to St Vedast's, and attended the celebration of Holy Communion there.

The proceeding naturally attracted much attention to St Vedast's. The four churchwardens (for Mr Dale was incumbent of two parishes—St Vedast's and

St Vedast's, Foster Lane

St Michael-le-Querne) were staunch Protestants, and had received all the innovations with extreme disgust ; they soon felt it was time to act, and a prosecution was begun. The Bishop of London urged Mr Dale to abandon the illegal practices he had adopted. Mr Dale was quite obdurate, and entrenched himself on the ground that the practices had been declared illegal by a secular court, that to obey would be "treason to the teaching of the Catholic Church." The law, therefore, had to take its course ; Mr Dale's illegal Ritual was condemned in the Court of Arches: he refused to give it up, and Lord Penzance inhibited him.

On the first Sunday, Mr Dale defied the inhibition; took the services as usual. The Bishop of London was unwilling to proceed to extremities, for Mr Dale was an elderly man and the son of an honoured father : so his Lordship, the next Sunday, in his kindness of heart, came to St Vedast's, and took the services himself. In the following Sundays he appointed a curate in charge, and Mr Dale submitted to the inhibition. But he and his fellow-Ritualists, who could not in conscience obey a secular court, appealed to a secular court—the Court of Queen's Bench. A technical flaw was found in the procedure of the Court of Arches: and the suit was pronounced void on the ground that the Bishop, its promoter, was himself patron of the living: and Mr Dale was again in full possession of his benefice.

We cannot again but pause to marvel at the cynical insincerity of these men. Again and again they were proving that they were absolutely without consciences. All their clamour against secular courts was, to put it in plain English, so much lying ; when a secular court

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was likely to suit their purpose, to a secular court they would go.

Fresh proceedings were taken against Mr Dale, and Lord Penzance issued a monition enjoining the disuse of illegal practices.

Mr Dale on this occasion displayed a childishness and pettishness which, we are bound to admit, was not in keeping with the usually dignified tone of his character. If he could not have the Holy Communion with the playthings he had recently adopted, he would not have it at all. It was the most important service of the Church, but it was not important enough to be celebrated without adventitious adjuncts. So the celebrations were abandoned entirely at St Vedast's, and Mr Dale's supporters received the Sacrament at St Paul's Cathedral or in a private oratory.

Of course the Bishop of London remonstrated at this plain violation of the rubric of the Church. Mr Dale stated that he could not celebrate the Eucharist in an irreverent manner. The reply of the Bishop of London, whose patience in dealing with this refractory member seemed inexhaustible, was cogent and unanswerable. "I confess," he wrote, "I am at a loss to understand how rites can be held to be irreverent which satisfied such men as Hooker and Bull, Beveridge and Cosen, with many others, whose high-toned devotions, I, for one, am accustomed to look up to with a kind of admiring envy."

In the beginning of 1880 Mr Dale changed his mind and resumed the celebration of Holy Communion with full ritual. He was of course inhibited, and the Bishop sent a clergyman to take the service at St Vedast's. Mr Dale followed the example of Mr Mackonochie under similar circumstances, and refused

St Vedast's, Foster Lane

permission to officiate to this gentleman, who, to prevent scandal or disorder, retired.

As Mr Dale was contumacious, there was nothing for it, unfortunate as it was, but to arrest him, and he was accordingly imprisoned in Holloway Gaol. In all, five clergymen were imprisoned for contumacy under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874—Mr Dale of St Vedast's, Mr Green of Miles Platting, Mr Tooth of Hatcham, Mr Enraght of Borderley, and Mr Bell Cox of Liverpool. It will not be necessary for our purpose to go through all these cases in detail, as the features were very similar. Suffice it to say here, that though it was the law, it was an unfortunate and unwise method of procedure. It gave the public a vague idea that a kind of persecution was going on. Of course the Ritualists caught at this, talked and wrote of the "Victorian Persecutions," and made out that the imprisoned clergymen were martyrs for conscience sake. Sympathy for them was thus aroused among persons who certainly had little or no sympathy with their opinions. Such sympathy was entirely undeserved. The "martyrdom for conscience sake" was purely farcical, like the whole of the Ritualistic movement. A martyr to conscience is a man who suffers because his religious opinions or practices are prohibited. Nothing of the kind was the case with these gentlemen. In England there is absolute freedom for religion. No one would have prevented them from dressing up in all the colours of the rainbow or burning enough candles to make the fortune of a tallow-chandler. The only thing was, the law said they must not do it in a Protestant Church. There was no more hardship or persecution in this than there would be in prohibiting the secretary

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of a Conservative Club from using it for the propagation of advanced Radical opinions.

The public, however, are as a rule unreflecting, and the leaders of opinion are led by it and have to obey. The upshot of it was that after these cases of imprisonment, ritual prosecutions were abandoned : the Bishops refused to put the law in motion, and for a time there was nothing to record in ecclesiastical history.

In the case of Mr Dale himself, there were more appeals to the Civil Courts by the conscientious objectors to them, and he was in a few weeks released from Holloway on bail. The difficulty was finally solved by his appointment to the living of Sansthorpe in Lincolnshire, where he died.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PROTESTANT REACTION

THE policy of prosecution gradually died out ; High Churchism was becoming fashionable in fashionable quarters. The race of Evangelical peers and ladies who lived an unworldly life in the midst of worldliness was vanishing—they had become few and far between, were only to be found here and there, hidden perchance on Sundays and Wednesday mornings in high pews in the few remaining Episcopal chapels of the West End. The Evangelical Movement had largely spent its force. One reason, perhaps, was that it had held aloof from the progressive tendencies of the day, and had failed to realise that Christianity is meant to deal with this world as with the next. The High Church Movement had in its ranks a few Radical or Socialistic clergy, who posed as representing the whole body—as if progress and obscurantism could ever really go hand in hand together. And, as we said, it had become fashionable. It knew how to pander to the pleasure-loving tendencies of the idle classes. It laid no burden upon those that they could not bear. It made no sharp distinction between the Church and the world. The lady of fashion could sit up till five at a ball,

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have a brief sleep, and attend Matins at eight without any sense of inconsistency. The services at the West End churches were bright, the sermon brief, and so that the West Ender's religion was becoming just an additional amusement to wile the heavy hours away.

Wherefore, Ritualism was ceasing to be unpopular, and the modern Bishop was not the man to swim against the stream. He wanted the *entrée* to drawing-rooms; he wanted money from their owners for his diocesan funds, and he was not going to do anything to offend them. Moreover, the House of Cecil was in power, apparently for a prolonged period, and the House of Cecil was mildly sacerdotal, so what could the Bishop in hope of a richer see do but pander to the popular taste of the day?

Wherefore, Ritualism was let alone. During the late eighties and the nineties it went on developing at its own will. Nearly every ceremony of the Church of Rome was performed by amateurs in the Church of England. Incense, light, vestments, were now as nothing; holy-water stoups were placed at the doors of churches, images of the Virgin and the Saints were set up and worshipped, the Roman ceremony of *Asperges* (in which a gentleman with a damp dusting-brush walked round the church in a cope and sprinkled the people from a watering-pot carried by a boy), prefaced the "Mass," and children were taught to sing hymns invoking the Virgin Mary: *e.g.*—At the Church of St Mark, Marylebone Road, London, the school children voiced the following delightful doggrel:

" The happy birds *Te Deums* sing,
'Tis Mary's month of May,
Her smile turns winter into spring,
And darkness into day.

The Protestant Reaction

And there's a fragrance in the air :
The bells their music make :
And O, the world is bright and fair,
And all for Mary's sake ! ”

This kind of rubbish went on unhindered and unlet by the Bishops. But there was, after all, among the laity, a deep-seated feeling of anxiety and disgust. It only wanted a channel of expression, and it found voice at length in the actions and utterances of Mr John Kensit and the Rev. R. C. Fillingham.

Mr Kensit was a bookseller in Paternoster Row. He had always in a mild way, as opportunity offered, opposed Ritualism and protested against Ritualistic practices. He was not a man of any education, and he had not the faintest knowledge of history, still less of theology, but his lack of knowledge was compensated by a blunt sincerity, and an indomitable courage, and unconquerable persistency in pursuing his purpose. He was an old-fashioned Protestant, and he hated all forms of Popery and Ritualism as the devil hates holy water. Such was the man who became by force of circumstance the instrument of fanning to a flame the smouldering embers and giving voice to the impatience of Englishmen with the Ritualistic movement.

He first attracted public notice by his action at the Church of St Ethelburga. The Rector was away, enjoying the income and doing nothing for it. A foolish curate-in-charge, a Mr Phillips, was amusing himself and a few silly women by playing all kinds of Romish games, reserving the sacrament and so on. He held a catechetical service in the evening, at which he asked various questions, and Mr Kensit tackled him. The matter was reported in the press. Mr

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Kensit proceeded to object to various of his Ritualistic practices, refused to receive the Sacrament unless proper wheaten bread was provided, and unless the chalices were administered unmixed. The late Bishop of London interfered in the matter, and asked Mr Kensit to tea to discuss the situation. The Protestant Party, defeated and discouraged for the last decade, gladly availed themselves of the circumstances, and pushed Mr Kensit to the front as the champion of Reformation principles. And such he remained till his death, and his name will always be rightly associated with English hatred of semi-Romanism.

The oddest thing was the part played in this movement by a Ritualistic journal, the Ritualistic organ. It undoubtedly was the main cause of the success that Mr Kensit's movement achieved: it forced it on the attention of the public. Who subsidised it to silently fight against its own party? Were there some unscrupulous or over-zealous Protestants in our midst who promised it pecuniary support if it would do their work? John Kensit, transparently honest, was entirely incapable of such action: but there may be in our ranks a few persons whose zeal outruns their discretion, and, if so, in the Ritualistic organ they found a ready instrument. It is one more instance of the fact we have noted so often, a Ritualist will be unfaithful to his own principles if only it is worth his while.

Church Review
under the management of
H. Myerson
1898

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WORK OF KENSIT

THE matter which established Mr Kensit firmly in the public mind as the champion of Protestantism in the Church of England was his protest at St Cuthbert's, Kensington.

Every available article had been purloined from Rome by the clergy of this church. Their expert hands had picked the pocket of the Pope till he could not even call his own the Good Friday ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross—the holding up to the people of a wooden crucifix and the people creeping up to it and kissing it. Mr Kensit resolved to call public attention to this last peculation of these larcenous gentry.

Accordingly, on Good Friday, 1898, he attended the service there. The congregation went up to the chancel steps as usual and adored the crucifix: Mr Kensit went up with them also, but when the crucifix was handed to him, he seized it, waved it aloft in his hand and exclaimed: "In God's name I protest against this idolatry in the house of God; may God help me!" A scene of tremendous confusion ensued. Men shouted, women screamed, Mr Kensit was hustled. Mr Kensit was summoned at the Police

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Court for brawling in church and was convicted, but the conviction was quashed at the Quarter Sessions on the ground that it was not a legal Church of England service that he had disturbed.

The affair, however, served its purpose in calling attention to the spread of Ritualism in the Established Church. Shortly after followed the public protest in St Paul's Cathedral of Mr Fillingham, the Vicar of Hexton, against the preaching there of Father Dolling, a notorious advocate of masses for the dead. The hands of the authorities were to some extent forced. The Episcopate felt a current of Protestant opinion was blowing, and was blown a little way by it; any current of public opinion always got inside lawn sleeves, and blew the wearers where it would. So the Archbishops held an informal Court and condemned certain ritual extravagances, such as the ceremonial use of incense, the carrying of lights in procession, the sprinkling of the congregation with holy water. Certain churches pretended for a time to comply with the episcopal injunctions, and when the storm of public disapproval had subsided, quietly resumed the forbidden practices with the connivance of the bishops who had forbidden them. It was a little farce, jointly arranged to deceive the public between the priests and the prelates.

John Kensit, meantime, went on indefatigably with his work. He went up and down the country; he knew not a day's rest. Every night he was in some town or village, denouncing Ritualism, and he founded his band of "Wycliff Preachers," the modern representatives of the poor preachers of Wycliff's days, who exposed the sinfulness of idolatry up and down the land. He called attention to the appointment of

The Work of Kensit

bishops who are unfaithful to the Church they are called on to rule. Following Mr Fillingham, he protested in Bow Church against the appointment of the present Bishop of London, a man without conscience or conviction, who had become notorious for taking part in idolatrous and illegal services. All objections were, of course, over-ruled, but the protests of Mr Fillingham and Mr Kensit had one effect, the authorities were afraid to hold another episcopal confirmation in Bow Church, and such functions have been held in a room in the Church House ever since.

But the end came too soon. It might have, indeed, come early in any case, as John Kensit was wearing himself out by his unceasing labours. In the autumn of 1902, he had been addressing a meeting at Birkenhead, and, as he left it, some miscreant hurled at him an iron missile. It struck Mr Kensit on the forehead, and he fell mortally wounded to the ground. He was conveyed to the hospital. Shortly dangerous symptoms set in. His son, who was at the time in prison for the offence of holding a Protestant meeting in Liverpool, was released for a few hours to be enabled to say good-bye to his father. And then John Kensit died, the twentieth-century martyr of the Protestant faith.

His work lives after him. He left a son imbued with the same spirit as himself, the same hatred of priestcraft, who carries on his campaign. The Wycliff preachers travel England through, town and village, and expose the idolatry and blasphemy of the rebellious clergy. And so death has proved again to be no reality, but illusion: John Kensit lives; being apparently dead, he still speaketh.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORK OF MR FILLINGHAM

IT is necessary to allude briefly to the part taken in the fight against Ritualism by the Rev. R. C. Fillingham, Vicar of Hexton, as it materially affects the relation of the Church of England with Non-conformity. Mr Fillingham claims that he has practically demonstrated the fact that the Church of England is not, in the High Church sense, "a branch of the Catholic Church," but is a Protestant body in full communion with the other Protestant bodies.

We need not dwell on Mr Fillingham's protest against the preaching of the late Father Dolling in St Paul's Cathedral, nor his interruption of the Ritualistic service at Kettlebaston in Suffolk: an act for which he was prosecuted in Hadleigh Police Court, and also the Diocesan Court: the result of the trial merely being an admonition not to offend again. Mr Fillingham, in all his proceedings, acted alone; for he was looked on with something like suspicion by the Evangelical societies, being an advanced Liberal in politics and of very Broad views in theology. But there could be no doubt of the importance of the question he raised as to the relations between the Free and Established Churches.

The Work of Mr Fillingham

It was in the late autumn of 1898 that he raised the point by accepting an invitation to preach and administer the Lord's Supper in a Congregational Church at Wellingborough, Northants.

As soon as this was publicly announced, the Episcopal authority exerted itself. It had never been exerted in the diocese to stop illegal Ritual, but to stop union with other Christians it was exerted at once. The Bishop of Peterborough formally inhibited Mr Fillingham from preaching or administering the Sacraments in the diocese, and Mr Fillingham in reply called attention to the fact that old-fashioned Church of England folk were driven away from the parish churches in Wellingborough by the illegal Ritual which prevailed, and urged his lordship to remedy their grievances, offering, in that case only, to abandon the proposed services at the Congregational Church.

Mr Fillingham must have been a sanguine man if he expected a Bishop to do his duty. Of course, the Bishop took no action against the Ritualists. And accordingly the Vicar of Hexton proceeded to Wellingborough, preached and celebrated the Holy Communion in the chapel; and no action was taken against him by the ecclesiastical authorities.

From that time, Mr Fillingham has consistently pursued the same course: scarcely a month passed without his occupying some Nonconformist pulpit. And in 1901, the Rev. E. T. Beckett, minister of Arthur Street Baptist Church, King's Cross, preached the Harvest Festival sermon in the parish church at Hexton. In 1903, a good deal of interest was excited by Mr Fillingham's preaching in a Congregational Church at Bristol, in spite of the inhibition

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of the Bishop. No proceedings were taken, the Bishop pleading that he could not prosecute the Vicar of Hexton without also prosecuting Ritualistic law-breakers in his diocese: but Mr Fillingham claimed that no proceedings could be taken, because the Church of England is a Protestant body, created at the time of the Reformation, and forms, in conjunction with the other Protestant churches, one great Protestant Communion, in antagonism to the Catholic systems of Greece and Rome. This may or may not be the case, but at all events it seems impossible to prevent the interchange of pulpits.

CHAPTER XXX

THE QUESTION OF PROSECUTIONS

THE various prosecutions initiated by the Church Association against the Ritualistic clergy have not, indeed, brought peace to the Church, nor put a stop to the revived ceremonial, but they have at least done this: they have ascertained definitely what the law is, and have left no doubt as to whether a man is doing a legal or illegal thing when he wears a Roman vestment or follows a Roman rite. The meaning of the Ornaments Rubric has been made clear by the most learned lawyers in the land, and it has been shown that, understood in the light of the advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, it condemns the whole series of practices of the Catholic Revival.

When public opinion was finally roused against the later Ritualistic excesses, it was understood that the Bishops had made up their minds to boycott churches which persisted in these usages.

The measure, of course, was a mild one. It only meant practically that the rite of Confirmation would not be administered in such churches, and that the incumbent would have to take his candidate to some other adjacent church. But defiance of the Episcopate and disobedience to the law were not to be followed

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by prosecution in the Courts: the Bishops had somehow convinced themselves that prosecution would be an unwise and unpopular measure.

As all this was manifestly unsatisfactory to Protestants, and as there was no real intention of vindicating or enforcing the law, some private individuals endeavoured to induce the Bishop of London to sanction a prosecution of the incumbents of St Michael's, Shoreditch, and St Augustine's, Stepney, who had refused to pay any regard to the Archbishop's decision. The attempt was entirely fruitless. The Bishop pursued merely a policy of caution: he wanted to keep well with all sections of Churchmen in his diocese: and though he still abstained from visiting the churches of rebellious clergymen, he declined to allow the law to be set in motion.

The reasons generally alleged by the Bishops for their inaction were, the uncertainty of the law (which was not uncertain), the expense of it, the difficulty of setting it in motion, and so on. However, it suddenly became apparent that nothing was easier than for a Bishop to deal with offenders if he chose: after the lapse of over twenty years, the law was again suddenly set in motion, only, oddly enough, it was against Protestantism, not against Ritualism, that Episcopal action was taken. The illegal practice at the Church of All Saints, Southend, had long been a grievance to the parishioners, but they could obtain no redress from the Bishop of St Alban's. A Protestant mission was started in the parish by the Rev. A. C. White, a young man of much promise, who had been for some time connected with the Wycliff preachers. He secured a church, formed a congregation, and invited the Rev. R. C. Fillingham to ordain him as its pastor.

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The Bishop at once forbade the ceremony. Mr Fillingham offered to refrain if the Bishop would deal with the grievances of the parishioners of All Saints, but this request was refused, and the ordination took place at Emmanuel Church, Southend, on March 22nd, 1905.

The Bishop instituted proceedings against Mr Fillingham in the Court of Arches, and after several delays and adjournments the Dean of Arches, Sir Lewis Dibden, pronounced sentence of suspension for two years.

It has been made clear, then, that there are ways and means, if the Bishops will only exercise their powers, of saving the Church of England from those who are seeking to unprotestantise her, and to bring the darkness from which the Protestant martyrs delivered her. A futile Royal Commission has issued a futile report on Ritual disorder in the Church, but of this we shall probably hear no more. More drastic measures are required. The crisis would seem to be a momentous one: many believe that the welfare of the country is bound up with her freedom of conscience, and her reformed faith. The future, however, holds securely its secrets, and the final event must be left to Him who cannot err, and from whose judgment there is no appeal.



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